



PROF. SYLVAIN LÉVI.

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A 374

In Memoriam

Sylvain Lévi is dead. The penetrating mind that explored the obliterated paths of India's ancient history, difficult of access, has laid down its task. And for the intellectual service he has rendered to India, precious in its rareness and luminous in its sagacity, we can but offer our homage of praise to his memory. He has joined the past which is immortal and which it was his own life's work to bring to the recognition of the living present. The students from India who had the opportunity of receiving his unfailing kindness and untiring help will ever mourn his loss, the loss of a friend and a guide.

He has special claim of gratitude from me who represent Sāntiniketan, for he was the first of the European scholars who readily responded to my call and came to train our own students and scholars in the scientific technique of historical research, he has helped me to create in our *āśrama* the tradition of the international fellowship of culture which he could do to a perfection, not only because his scholarship was great, but also because he had the beautiful gift of friendliness and a genuine sympathy for students and patience for them even when their capacity was too elementary for the learning which he himself possessed.

Rabindranath Tagore

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THE
JOURNAL OF THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY
JANUARY, 1936

CONTENTS

Articles	Page
<i>Praśasti</i>	1
By Prof. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya	
Sylvain Lévi and the Science of Indology ...	3
By Dr. Kalidas Nag, D. Litt.	
Greater India and the work of Sylvain Lévi ...	18
By Dr. J. Przyluski, D. Litt.	
Archaeological Explorations of the Neck of the Khair Khaneh (near Kabul)	23
By Dr. J. Hackin	
The Source of, and a Parallel to, Dionysius on the Beautiful	36
By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc.	
Non-Aryan Elements in Indo-Aryan ...	43
By Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, D. Litt.	
Sources of the Art of Śrī-Vijaya ...	50
By Devaprasad Ghosh, M. A., P. R. S.	
The Kāliṅga Dynasty of Ceylon ...	57
By S. Paranavitana	
A Date of Isānavarman II: The Inscription of Tûol Kûl (Province of Môṅg, Cambodia) ...	65
By Dr. George Coedès, Ph. D.	
On the Old-Javanese <i>Korawāśrama</i> ...	67
By J. L. Swellengrebel	
The Malay	86
By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M. A., Ph. D.	
On Some Hindu Relics in Borneo ...	97
By O. C. Gangoly.	

A South Indian Portrait Bronze from Sumatra ...	104
By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M. A.	

Notes

Literary and Epigraphic Notes ...	108
By Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, M. A.	
On the Source of the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin ...	113
By Manomohan Ghosh, M. A.	

Notices of Books ...	118
----------------------	-----

Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, <i>Indian Influences in Old-Balinese Art</i> . Reviewed by O. C. Gangoly.
Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M. A., <i>The Colas</i> . Reviewed by U. N. Ghoshal.
Hari Prasad Shastri, D. Litt., <i>Teachings from the Bhagavad-Gītā</i> . Reviewed by M. S.

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THE JOURNAL OF THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

VOL. III

JANUARY, 1936

No. 1

॥ उपाध्यायश्रीवल्लभिनः प्रशस्तिः ॥

अस्यासीज्जननं मयीति मननात्स्याच्चेत्प्रतीच्या मनो
गाढाहङ्गतितुन्दिलं वयमिदं नैसर्गिकं मन्महे ।
किञ्चित्तु कृतं त्वयान्तिमदिनं यावत्परिश्राम्यताः
सेयं प्राच्यपि येन दृष्यति परं पश्चादपि द्रप्स्यति ॥ १ ॥

वैदुष्येण महीयसा सुविदितेनाशासु सर्वाखपि
प्रेक्षावान्प्रसभं न को नु भवताकृष्टः समन्ताद्भुवि ।
एवं सत्यपि भारते तु भवतः कश्चित्स भावो महान्
येनास्मिन्नतिमात्रमात्मनि सतां श्लाघा समुन्मीलति ॥ २ ॥

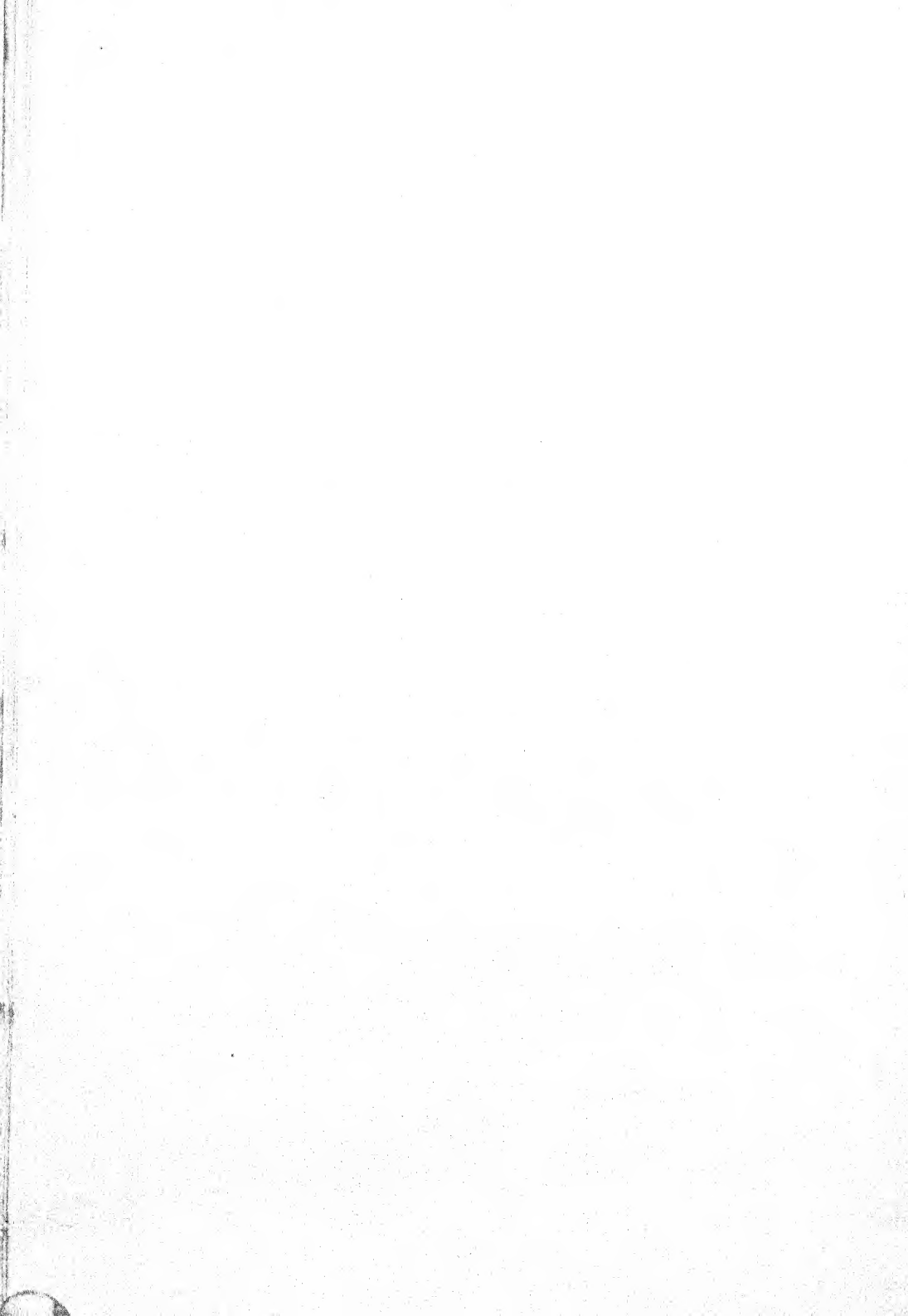
कालप्रभावाद्भूत भारतस्य वस्तून्यनर्घाणि तिरोहितानि ।
भोटेषु चीनादिषु तेषु तेषु लभ्यानि तेषां कतिचित्कथञ्चित् ॥ ३ ॥

दिवानिशं सादरमङ्ग तेषां समुद्धृतौ यत्नवता त्वयात्र ।
कृतं यदेतदवलोकमानो न को नु रज्येत्त्वयि भारतीयः ॥ ४ ॥

त्वया समं यस्य जनस्य वाससुखस्य सौभाग्यमभूत्कदाचित् ।
उदारतां ते मनसो मनस्विन्नवेत्य सोऽभूदतिमुग्धचित्तः ॥ ५ ॥

जगद्विद्वत्समाजेषु कीर्तनीयं ससम्भ्रमम् ।
भवन्तं भारतं प्रेम्णा सुचिरं संस्मरिष्यति ॥ ६ ॥

Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya



Sylvain Lévi and the Science of Indology

By Dr. Kalidas Nag

It requires no apology to-day to claim the title of Science on behalf of the systematic study of Indian culture and antiquities. The 19th century had witnessed the enfranchisement of a few more "ologies" in her already bulky list of Sciences. Along with Egyptology, Assyriology and Sinology, Indology also claims her place in the scale of her comparative culture history of humanity.

Like every other Science, Indology now presents a long list of devoted workers. In as much as Prof. Sylvain Lévi's career epitomises and symbolises the progress of this new Science, we presume to present an outline of the life and activities of this French *savant* for the benefit of the fresh recruits in the field of Indology.

Sylvain Lévi entered the arena of Indian studies just one century after its inauguration: 1784 witnessed the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the initiative of Sir William Jones and in 1884 we find Sylvain Lévi sitting at the feet of Abel Bergaigne, one of the rarest type of the teachers of Sanskrit in Europe. Thus a hurried glance across the list of Lévi's predecessors and contemporaries would help us to have a correct perspective and to ascertain the specific character of Lévi's contribution to the development of the Science.

India attracted the attention of the world through ages: Alexander to Albouquerque, Kadphises to Nādir Shāh—what a history of feverish search for the wealth of India! As late as the mid 17th century we find Milton singing of "the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind" in his *Paradise Lost*—no doubt a poetic paraphrase of the history of Portuguese exploitation. A century after we notice a curious phenomenon. The foremost intellect of France, the arch-rationalist Voltaire eagerly searching for the *Ezour Vedam* of the Hindus not

knowing that the papers were forgeries of a Portuguese Jesuit priest. What is more wonderful is that France in another of her sons offers the first audacious discoverer of the authentic records of Indian culture. Anquetil Duperron, eager to discover the Vedas of the Hindus, joined the service of the French East India Company in 1754, and succeeded in offering to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the first nucleus of an Oriental Library in the form of the manuscripts of the Vedas and the Avesta. Duperron signalled a new departure in the history of Europe's quest for India. (Vide : Lévi : Preface to M. R. Schwab's *Anquetil Duperron*, Paris 1934.) It is not only the physical wealth but the cultural and spiritual legacy of India that is attracting Europe. This *orientation* (in the literal and metaphorical sense of the term) of the occidental outlook is as mysterious as, and coincides strikingly with, the startling declaration of American Independence and the epoch-making phenomenon of the French Revolution. The West suddenly felt the need of the East—a need which, as future history would show, is deeper than Economics and wider than Politics. The pioneers of Indian studies like Jones and Chézy were passionate admirers of *Śakuntalā*. The masterpiece of immortal Kālidāsa by a characteristic touch of poetic justice secured the co-operation of the English, the French and the German schools of Indology. Thus the new science went on gaining fresh votaries to her temple. After Jones and Chézy came Colebrooke and Burnouf—both remarkable for their intensity of study and variety of achievements. Colebrooke studied the Vedas and Indian Philosophy, the lexicon and Indian law with equally fruitful results; while Burnouf proved himself to be a veritable prodigy—the first great genius of the science of Indology. Not satisfied with an extensive study of Sanskrit and Pāli, Burnouf applied himself to the mastery of Tibetan, Siamese, Burmese and Avestan languages, thereby attaining a rare maturity of judgment and accuracy of intuition. *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* still stands as a marvel of scholarship and a deathless monument to his genius. Working at the Duperron MSS. on the one

hand and the Hodgson MSS. on the other, Burnouf sounded the keynote for the French School of Indologists : not narrow specialisation in one particular branch but the opening up of ever-widening vistas of Indian Culture History. Hence it was as it were in the fitness of things that Burnouf should bless the pioneers of the forthcoming generation of workers by his personal initiation. Both Bopp and Max Müller sat at the feet of Burnouf, while Christian Lassen was deeply influenced by him. Thus gradually we reach the period of *scientific excavations*, when in Germany appear workers like Bopp and Weber, Böthlingk and Roth and in France Regnaud and Bergaigne, Barth and Senart whose appearance was characterised by Lévi as "*la naissance d'une pleiade d'Indienistes.*"¹

It was when this pleiad was shining bright on the firmament of the French School that Sylvain Lévi appeared on the horizon. Thus his career, stretching as it does across the 19th to the 20th century, touches the luminous line radiating between Burnouf and Bergaigne on the one hand and the luminaries of the coming generation like Foucher and Pelliot on the other. Hence his career is of immense historic interest to all students of Indology.

Born in Paris, March 28, 1863, Sylvain Lévi seemed to have finished undergoing the university discipline with such a phenomenal rapidity that we almost miss Lévi the maturing student in Lévi the finished savant. He was a *licencié* (1882) and an *agregé des lettres* (1883) when he was barely twenty. Men like Ernest Renan and James Darmesteter had always an eye on this remarkable young scholar. Lévi manifested at this time a strong predilection for the Classics. In fact he was meditating to join the French School at Athens, when Renan rendered unconsciously a signal service to the cause of Indology by dealing the decisive push which won Lévi permanently for the Indian science. Lévi was brought in touch with Abel Bergaigne, one of the greatest teachers of Sanskrit in Europe. It is an irony of fate no

1 Lévi—*l'Indienisme*, 1915.

doubt that almost immediately after Lévi's affiliation into the classes of Bergaigne, James Darmesteter, the great Avestan scholar, paid him a visit to win him as an assistant to his Avestan studies. But India and not Iran was the predestined sphere of Lévi's work. And thus we find him preparing for his memorable researches under the instruction of his master, Bergaigne. That great scholar had then been publishing his researches into the Vedic literature and the documents of Cambodian history published in the *Journal Asiatique* (1882-83). Lévi learned his elements of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody not from academic Indian treatises on the subject but from concrete epigraphical documents discovered in Cambodia. This from the very beginning Lévi had a vision of Indian history and culture not circumscribed by the *modern political delimitation of India*. We thankfully remember the names of Burnouf and Bergaigne who were responsible for this grand vision of *Magna India* which radiates from every page of Lévi. Here Lévi proved a worthy disciple of worthy masters and continued the grand traditions of the French School of Indologists, ever expanding the frontiers of the new science, ever widening the horizon of Indian history.

Towards the end of the year 1885 the first paper of Lévi was honoured with a place in the foremost oriental journal of France: *La Br̥hatkathā-Maṇjarī de Kṣemendra* was published in *Journal Asiatique* (1885-86). Lévi was appointed maitre des conférences of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes on the retirement of Hauvette Besnault (1886). To the conférences of this professor prodigy of twenty-three were attracted men who have left their mark on many departments of research—men illustrious in the later history of French scholarship—to mention among others, A. Meillet the great philologist and A. Foucher the illustrious writer on Buddhist art and archæology, now representing Indology in the French Academy. While Lévi was thus continuing his work with a unique devotion and passion, Bergaigne, who was a great lover of mountains met his tragic death in course of one of his excursions (1889).

The loss of his beloved *Guru* was an awful blow to the youthful enthusiasm of Lévi. Everyone knew how he used to adore his master. M. Emile Senart paid a visit to Lévi to cheer him up. Gradually Lévi accepted this new challenge of fate in a spirit at once characteristic and admirable. The master is gone but his work remains. He devoted his whole energy to the perpetuation of that noble work of interpreting India to Europe. The Société Asiatique requested Lévi to fill up the place of his late lamented master in the Council (1889) and in 1890 we notice his second paper—*Abel Bergaigne et L'Indienisme* (*Revue Bleue*, 1890)—a noble tribute to the memory of a noble master.

In 1890 Lévi became a full-fledged Docteur ès lettres presenting two theses, one in Latin—*Quid de Graecis Veterum Indorum Monumenta Tradiderint* (What About Greece Ancient Indian Monuments conserved) and another in French, *Le Theatre Indien*—which still stands as the most authoritative treatise on Hindu drama. Almost at the same period he was honoured with a place in Faculté des Lettres of the University of Paris and was promoted to the rank of the directeur adjoint of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes (1892-93) working with brilliant pupils like Meillet, Finot, Foucher and de La Vallée Poussin. The year 1894 witnessed the appointment of Lévi to the Chair of Sanskrit in the College de France, nearly 80 years after creation of the first French Chair of Sanskrit with Chézy. *Vide Lévi: L'entrée du Sanskrit au College de France*, (1932). This was the crowning of his academic career: A young man of thirty started his works on Indology as the colleague of Darmesteter, Maspero and Gaston Paris.

This was undoubtedly a point of departure in the career of Lévi. He was lecturing on Vedānta-Sāra and Uttara-Rāmacarita, he was discussing the inscriptions of Piyadasi and contributing valuable articles on India in the *Grande Encyclopædie*. Not satisfied with these, he organised a class for a systematic study of Chinese and Tibetan along with Sanskrit and Pali texts under the direction of M. Specht. At the same time he had been dreaming of the possibility of

founding a French School of Indology in Chandernagore and in consultation with M. Guiéysse, the then minister of Colonies, entrusted Foucher (in course of his first mission) to enquire about the possibilities of such a foundation. The scheme, however, matured when Lévi himself visited India (1897-98) and laid indirectly the foundation of the *Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* with the help of Leon Bourgeois (a former pupil of M. Bergaigne), the then Governor-General of Indo-China.

Thus Greater India loomed large on the horizon of Lévi. He had already published his first studies on the *Buddhacarita* of *Āśvaghoṣa* (*JA.*, 1892) and soon discovered and transliterated 150 stanzas of the hymns of *Mātrīceta*. But the most important event at this period is his friendship with Edouard Chavannes, the great French Sinologist, through their common friend of the *Ecole Normale*, M. Foucher. That friendship was fruitful with several years of most important publications in collaboration—the earliest being the *Itinéraires d'Ou-K'ong* (*JA.*, 1895). Within two years we find Lévi sent on a mission to the *Extrême Orient* (1897-98), in course of which he visited India, Nepal, Indo-China and Japan. This tour widened his sphere of research to such an extent that in spite of his isolated monograph on *La Doctrine du Sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas* (1898). Lévi might be said to have settled down on the broader and far more complicated problems of extra-Indian Indology. On his return from the East he was elevated to the rank of the Director of the *Ecoles des Hautes Etudes* (1898), working with brilliant young savants like Huber, Pelliot and Jules Bloch. Soon after, the *Bulletin* of the *Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* was founded under the direction of Finot and the *T'oung Pao* came under the editorship of Lévi's friend, Chavannes, and these important journals evoked some of the most original papers of Lévi on Sino-Indian culture. This is the branch of study which the French scholars have made their own. From the time of Abel Rémusat and Stanislas Julien to that of Chavannes and Pelliot there is a continuity of tradition in the parallel study of

the documents of two of the oldest and yet living nations of Asia. This study has revolutionised our conception of Asiatic history. Lévi was the first Indologist who brought his marvellous knowledge of Indian things to bear on the elucidation of many intricate problems of that forgotten history. His collaboration with Chavannes and Meillet has more than mere academic significance; it symbolises the inauguration of the comparative study of Sino-Indian and Serindian life and culture. But he was ever close to his India. The same year that he lectured (while Bergson opened his inaugural lecture on *Volonté* in College de France, 1907) on Dharmapada in its Sanskrit and Chinese recensions, he lectured also on Śakuntalā and while he discussed the Kotikarṇa Avadāna in its Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan versions, Lévi analysed the beauty and sublimity of the Great Epics.

The year 1908 saw the maturity of his studies on the History of Nepal in three grand volumes in the Annals of the Musée Guimet. The very same year Pelliot started on his mission of exploration in Central Asia. Just as the archaeological mission of Chavannes threw a flood of light on the history of ancient China, so Pelliot's mission brought to light a collection of MSS., the value of which we are just beginning to realise. Lévi was the first to give his attention to this rich collection. While busy editing the translating the *Sūtrālamkāra of Asaṅga* and giving Tibetan lessons to young savants like Bacot, Hackin, and Gauthiot, Prof. Lévi formed a smaller seminar for an intensive study of the documents of the Pelliot Mission (1910). In course of this investigations, he found in his former pupil and friend M. Meillet a noble collaborator and thus ensued his brilliant contribution to the decipherment of the Tokharian, Sogdian and Koutchean dialects of Central Asia. Thus for a while the greatest living Indologist of France joined hands with her greatest Sinologist Chavannes and her greatest living Philologist Meillet. But the premature death of Chavannes was a great blow to this momentous union. Lévi, however, continued with Meillet to render signal service

to the study of the Central Asian languages. No wonder Lévi was honoured with the place of the President of the Société Linguistique of which Meillet was the prime mover and also with the Presidentship of the *Société Asiatique* of Paris, after the death of Emil Senart.

Apart from these prodigious activities in the line of scholarship, Lévi was a lay worker of quite inexhaustible energy. How many public institutions of France were indebted to him for his unstinted service ! Moreover he bore the heavy burden of responsibility as the president elect of the Alliance Israelite Universelle which has hundreds of educational and philanthropic institutions in the old as well as in the new world and which imposed upon him in the last days the heavy task of succouring the thousands of Jewish scholars expelled from Germany. Even at an advanced age Lévi showed an enthusiasm and capacity for work that was almost phenomenal. In India he would be specially remembered because of his undertaking the noble task of training generations of Indian scholars in the science of which he was the accredited master. That is why he was the first to be invited to occupy the seat of the Ācārya in a truly national institution like the Vīśvabhāratī of Rabindranath. Tagore joined hands with Lévi, the East collaborated with the West for the cause of Truth and Humanity and we expressed our hope in the language of our poet Kālidāsa that through this spiritual co-operation

“अन्योन्यपावनमभूदुभयं समेत्य”

each served as a purifying factor to the other.

Between 1921, when Sylvain Lévi visited India as the first guest-professor of Vīśvabhāratī, and the end of his career (30th October, 1935), he left a record of research that may fill the lives of several scholars. Organizing oriental studies in the University of Strassbourg (since 1918) and Tibetan and Chinese Studies at Sāntiniketan with brilliant Indian scholars like Mm. Pandit Vidhusekhara Sastri, Pandit Kshitimohan Sen and Prabodh Chandra Bagchi (1921-22) Lévi visited Japan on his return trip, was nominated by Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, Reader of the University of Calcutta, President

of the Second All-India Orientalists, Conference, Calcutta (1921), corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Tokyo, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, a member of the governing body of the Institute of Indian Civilisation (Paris University) and finally President of the *Société Asiatique*. Invited by the Imperial Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto, Prof. Lévi visited Japan for the second (1922-23) and third times (1926-28); lecturing on Buddhism and helping in the completion of the *Hobougirin*, or the Encyclopædic Dictionary of Buddhism, in collaboration with eminent Japanese scholars like Dr. Takakusu, Dr. Anesaki, Dr. Inoue, Prof. Sugiyama and others (*Vide The Young East*, Vol. V. no. 4, Tokyo). Between November, 1926, and May, 1928, he acted as the Director of the *Maison Franco-Japonaise* in Tokyo and on their return trip through India, Prof. and Madame Lévi were accorded grand receptions by the *Greater India Society* and the *Société Indo-Latine*, founded by his Indian pupils and admirers who with the modest resources at their disposal are trying for the last ten years to develop Greater Indian Studies in India inspired by his example. Prof. Lévi visited the Dutch East Indies in 1928 and made a selection of Hindu texts from Bali recently published by the Gaekwad Oriental Series. Another study on the Javanese Mahābhārata was communicated by him to the *Golden Book of Tagore* (1931) published in honour of his old friend Rabindranath Tagore. So his second and third visits to Nepal provoked him to publish new texts of Vasubandhu (*Viṃśatikā* and *Triṃśikā*) as well as the variorum edition of the Mahā-karmavibhaṅga and other valuable documents published by Ernest Leroux (Paris) as well as by the *Journal Asiatique* to which he was contributing for nearly half a century. The forthcoming number of the *Journal Asiatique* will publish an exhaustive and authoritative bibliography of his works by our esteemed friend M. L. Renou. Meanwhile in this special number of our *Journal of the Greater India Society*, we publish bibliographic notes up to 1925 requesting our readers to refer to the *necrologie* of Sylvain Lévi published

in the *Journal Asiatique* and other learned French publications.

Series of studies are necessary to do justice to Lévi the savant. The tentative bibliography of his works which we publish below will suffice to demonstrate how almost every branch of Indology feels the impress of his genius. In this short article we have tried only to supply a commentary to this bibliography for the convenience of Indian scholars. We shall conclude by giving two extracts from Lévi's writings illustrating his attitude towards Indian History. In 1890 he concluded his article on *Abel Bergaigne et l'Indienisme* with these words: "From Persia to the Chinese Sea, from the icy regions of Siberia to the islands of Java and Borneo, from the Oceania to Socotra, India has propagated her beliefs, her genius, her tales and her civilization. She has left indestructible imprints on one-fourth of the human race in course of a long succession of centuries. She has the right to reclaim, in universal history, the rank that ignorance has refused her for a long time and to hold her place amongst the great nations, summarising and symbolising the spirit of humanity." As a pupil of the great Vedic scholar Bergaigne Lévi has given us his studies on the Vedic rituals, as a master teacher of the Sanskrit language he has given us a history of the Hindu Drama, as an intellectual descendant of Burnouf he has given us invaluable studies on Buddhism, as an exponent of scientific method in historical composition he has given us three splendid volumes on Nepal, as an audacious seeker of the relics of Indian genius outside India he has given us the *Sūtrālamkāra* of Asaṅga and the collation of *Dharmapada* texts—yet all these are side issues and bye products. Lévi the silent worker is probably greater than his works. This is a fact which can only be attested by those who had the privilege of knowing him intimately. By his life of silent *tapasyā* dedicated to the resuscitation of Indian history and culture, he gained a synthetic vision of that history rarely found in writers on India. It is exactly here that Sylvain Lévi stands as an inspiration and a dream for the young school of Indian Indologists whom he blessed unconsciously

through his noble utterances on the mission of India in the scheme of universal history: "The *multiplicity* of the manifestations of Indian genius as well as their *fundamental unity* gives India the right to figure on the first rank in the history of civilised nations. Her civilisation, spontaneous and original, unrolls itself in a continuous time across at least thirty centuries, without interruption, without deviation. Ceaselessly, in contact with *foreign elements*, which threatened to strangle her, she persevered victoriously in absorbing them, assimilating them and enriching herself with them. Thus she has seen the Greeks, the Scythians, the Afghans, the Mongols pass before her eyes in succession and is regarding with indifference the Englishmen—confident to pursue, under the accidents of the surface, the normal course of her high destiny" (Lévi's article on "India" in the *Grande Encyclopædie*).

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[ABBREVIATIONS :—

JA.—*Journal Asiatique*.

BEFEO.—*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d' Extrême-Orient*.

TP.—*T'oung Pao*.

BEHE.—*Bibliothèque d' Ecole des Hautes Etudes*.

CMG.—*Conference de Musée Guimet*].

1885—*La Bṛhatkathāmañjarī de Kṣemendra*—JA.

1886—*La Bṛhatkathāmañjarī et Vetālapañcaviṃśati*—JA.

1889—*Deux chapitres du Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha : le système Pāśupata et le système Śaiva*—BEHE., Vol. I. Articles on Indian subjects contributed to the *Grande Encyclopædie* :—

(a) *Brahmanisme* (b) *Brahmoïsme* (c) *Calendrier*
(d) *Castes* (e) *Hindouïsme* (f) *Hiouen Tsang* (g) *Inde*.

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* Based on a paper published in the *Modern Review*, December, 1921, when Prof. Lévi, accompanied by his *sahadharminī* Madame Lévi visited India with the invitation of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore inaugurating the research department of Viśva Bhārati.

The writer begs to record his thanks in this connection to his esteemed friend and *saṁritha* Prof. Louis Renou, now the Director of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, for his kind courtesy in sending me advanced proofs of his exhaustive bibliographical study on our common *guru*. It reached me unfortunately too late to be utilized for my tribute prepared for our *Greater India Society Journal*. But I recommend to all admirers of Prof. Lévi's works, the most exhaustive and upto date analysis of Prof. Renou: *Sylvain Lévi et son œuvre scientifique*, to be published soon in the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.

Greater India and the work of Sylvain Lévi

By J. Przyluski

In 1885, Sylvain Lévi, then aged twenty-two was appointed lecturer at the "École Pratique des Hautes Etudes." The period was still a Golden Age for Vedic studies. A generation of Indianists had attempted to retrace the formation of the Indo-European religion through an interpretation of the Veda according to the method of comparative mythology. E. Senart and H. Kern had endeavoured to explain by the same means the legend of the Buddha. Sylvain Lévi, undecided at first as to the course he should follow, turns resolutely from the Vedic Period. He keeps to the strictly philological method only and during the most productive years of his life, he concentrates his activity upon the period where the great Indian epics were elaborated. Let us examine how such a decision can be explained and justified.

In the last part of his article *Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*, Sylvain Lévi wrote: "The great epics mark a critical moment for the Indian soul; like the human hero of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, it was hesitating yet between the exigencies of practical duty, and the seductions of inertia."¹ Here lies already a psychological reason to take a special interest in the epics.

Sylvain Lévi had a deep sense of the intercourse which took place between India and the other Asiatic countries, and he was one of the first to grasp the importance of a great fact: the expansion of Indian civilization. And it is close to the birth of the Christian era,—probably at the origin of the epic age—that both the continental and the naval expansion of India began. North-West, the invasion of the Śaka, then later on that of the Yue-chi, establish

new communications between India and Upper Asia, and allow Buddhism to spread over the Iranian marches, Turkestan and China; South, the development of the high-sea trade draws the ships up to Indo-China and to the East-Indies.

But other motives attracted Sylvain Lévi towards this remarkably rich period. At the mere start of his career, he had been won to the genius of Aśvaghoṣa, and to the end he was fascinated by the charm of this poet. Basing his belief upon the fact that certain tales picture Aśvaghoṣa in the presence of Emperor Kaniṣka, Sylvain Lévi believed that he could admit the synchronism and decided to make of the great poet a contemporary of the great king. Thus, his admirations, his tastes, his historical preoccupations, everything carried him back to the epic period.

But, in order to co-ordinate these views, some chronology became necessary. To build up one, Sylvain Lévi makes use of two kinds of facts: the events which the texts relate, and onomastics. Being offered but a meagre harvest of historical events by the Sanskrit literature, his active curiosity explores the foreign literatures, like the Chinese and Tibetan texts. All the results of these investigations do not possess the same value. The knowledge that we gather in the texts is often no more than a legendary and therefore unreliable tradition. Comparisons between them confirm the existence of a tradition, but do not prove its veracity. Sylvain Lévi was led to think that Kaniṣka's reign began some time before the Christian era² and that Aśvaghoṣa must have been his contemporary. The latter part of this thesis is uncertain; the former has not been confirmed by the latest works upon the subject; to-day, almost every historian places the reign of Kaniṣka in the second century of the Christian era.³

But his handling of onomastics really displayed the great talent of Sylvain Lévi, and his immense learning. His

2 *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, *J.A.*, 1897, 1, 1ff.

3 L. de la Vallée-Poussin, *L'Inde au temps des Mauryas*, pp. 343-374.

method is the following: by the onomastics of a text, he determines, with all achievable precision, the geographical and chronological horizon of its writer. Indian names have changed often, because cities were deserted, or given a new name, and because the populations replaced one another in the more troubled periods. It is possible, therefore, to determine by the names of the people and of the places the approximate date of the text and of the events which are mentioned in it. This method is based upon the following proposition: India is the land of the present moment; the old writers have never been attracted by historical research; a writer would never "have been tempted to look in the ashes of the past for the traces" of the small populations or the minor localities long disappeared.⁴

By this method, Sylvain Lévi has tried to establish a number of guiding-marks in the history of Indian literature, and we must not forget that, in this past without a chronology, the historian's most pressing task must be to determine the age of the texts. He shows that our *Rāmāyaṇa*, in its many recensions, had its origin in an edition published around the Christian era.⁵ He establishes that "if the (*yaṅṣa*) list of the *Mahāmāyūrī* answers through many concurring indications to the image of India as it was during the 3 or 4 earlier centuries after Christ, the *Mahābhārata*, which resembles this list so closely, was given its definitive redaction about the same time."⁶ Then, in 1925, he proves in an article on *Ptolémée, le Niddesa et la Bṛhatkathā*, that one of the most important texts in Pali discloses a state of naval science "which is not likely to have existed in another age than that of Ptolémy." And he places in the two earlier centuries of the present era the poet Guṇāḍhya, who, according to the words of Lacôte, "is the third of the epic triad," and his *Bṛhatkathā* which ranks with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.⁷

4 *JA.*, janv. fév. 1915, p. 121.

5 *JA.*, 1918, I, p. 149.

6 *JA.*, 1915, I, p. 122

7 *Etudes Asiatiques*, publiées à l'occasion du 25^e anniversaire de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, II, p. 52.

In short, Sylvain Lévi has constantly traced the ways for the future study of Greater India. But the exploration remains unfinished, and the synthesis is yet to be made. If we instal Kaniska in the second century A.D. we must perhaps ascribe to the influence of the Yue-chi some important features of a period particularly active in the political, economical and literary domains. It is the time of the Indo-Scythian hegemony, and of the expansion of Buddhism. Greater India is then in its full bloom, and the development of the sea-trade, first observed by Pliny and the Periplus, later on testified to by Ptolémy in his Geography, takes place. During this period, several great *diascévastes* set to work upon the old rhapsodies and build up the monumental epics, whilst a poet of genius, Ásvaghoṣa, endows the legend of the Buddha with the prestige of his unparalleled talent. One of the tasks of the near future must be to study this period of Indian history, with the help of all the resources that can be found in epigraphy and archæology, philology and onomastics, ethnology and the science of religions.

Sylvain Lévi was a very learned man already when he started upon the travelling career which was to give the last maturity to his talent. He added then to his science of the past the vision of the sites and of the things, the divination of the paths which the merchants, the conquerors and the apostles had followed. And it is chiefly upon notes and studies made by him in Nepal, that he constructed his valuable monograph in three volumes on this Himalayan kingdom.

Like every orientalist in his time, Sylvain Lévi was dazzled by the result of the excavations made in Central Asia about the beginning of the century. So many monuments, paintings and texts brought to light, allowed the hope of a marked progress in science and stimulated the workers. Sylvain Lévi undertook the task of deciphering an unknown language, to which we give, with impropriety perhaps, the name of "Tokharian". The study of these documents inspired his several publications, the most important of which

for the history of Central Asia, is probably *Le Tokharien B, langue de Koutcha*.⁶

His creative mind, his priceless gifts, have allowed Sylvain Lévi to leave his personal mark in all the domains where his indefatigable activity exerted itself. He formed a great number of pupils; among those who promised to do him the utmost credit, Ed. Huber and F. Lacote have died early. Quite recently he had been deeply affected by the loss of L. Finot, who had been one of his earlier auditors, and who contributed more than anyone else to the creation of the Indo-Chinese History. Both in Europe and in Asia, however, many disciples prove to this day the persistence and the richness of his influence.

Archaeological Explorations of the Neck of the Khair Khaneh (near Kabul)

By Dr. J. Hackin

There has resulted the discovery of a ruined temple and its accessories out of the excavations of 1934 on the eastern slope of the neck of the Khair Khaneh¹ (12 kilometres to the north-west of Kabul) by the French Archæological delegation in Afghanistan.

The remains brought to light are situated at the end of a rocky spur extending from west to east. This spur connects itself with the mountains of Koh hazar-i-bagal commanding the plain of Wazirābād and representing the northern section of the heights which dominate the neck of Khair Khaneh and the route of Balkh which, in ancient days, was the most important road of communication between Central Asia and India.

The temple and its accessories face the plains of Wazirābād. From the terrace of the sanctuary the view extends right up to the mountains which surround the plains towards the south, the south-east and the east where appears the line of the mountains Chenari and Chakri. In a hollow breach is seen the profile of a lofty column crowned, in the past, with a *Dharmacakra*, symbol of the Buddhist Law.

During the spring season, the Wazirābād depression is largely inundated. The waters then invade the Qualehs or fortified habitations and sometimes reach the villages of Khojā, Bogrā and Wazirābād. The brown mass of the houses of Kabul appears further towards the south dominated by the peaks of Sherpur and of Sirjah Sang. As soon as the mist of the morning dissipates, one discerns without difficulty, towards the base of Mt. Chakri, the rounded mass of the *stūpas* of "Shevaki." Such was the spectacle which had a

¹ Kotal-i-Khirs Khaneh (the neck of the Bear mansion) in old maps Kotal-i-Khair Khaneh signifies the neck of the mansion of charity.

moving appeal for meditation and prayer for the guests of that privileged sanctuary.

This archæological site, which we shall presently describe, was first discovered by Mon. Jean Carl in course of an exploration in February, 1934.

The ruined edifices had disappeared under the mass of earth from the eastern slopes of the Koh hazar-i-bagal brought by the torrential rains of the spring; as the result of that the temple and its annexes appeared to observers under the aspect of hillocks, more or less round in form. (See figs. Nos. 3 & 6). The clear nuance of the clay mass on the top of those tumuli must have attracted and then engrossed the attention of Mon. Jean Carl. The first diggings of March, 1934, gave definitely encouraging results. That is how a part of the annexes (E.F.), of the temples A.B.C., and of one face of the retaining wall (see fig. 1) was brought to light. Thick slabs of schist superimposed, formed the material for the retaining wall, consolidated here and there by the insertion of huge blocks of schist whose exteriors were carefully dressed. That was the classical method of construction exemplified by numerous remains of the ancient region of Jelalabad and Kabul.

On securing the above results M. Jean Carl, assisted by M. E. Bacquet, pursued the work methodically. The retaining wall, delimiting the platform supporting the temple and its annexes, was gradually unearthed. The platform was reached by a staircase constructed on the southern face of the retaining wall (the principal gate; see plan: figs. 1 & 4) and a secondary entrance facing north. One passes then through the inner court and thence by an inclined way one reaches the terrace of the temple. Another means of access was by a small staircase connecting the platform with the terrace (see fig. 4). That terrace supporting the three temples A.B.C. is really speaking the flat top of a more ancient edifice (see fig. 1, 1) with three rooms provided with a single entrance. The temple was constructed of crude bricks of large size disposed in layers of perfect regularity, each layer being marked by a very slight projection with reference to

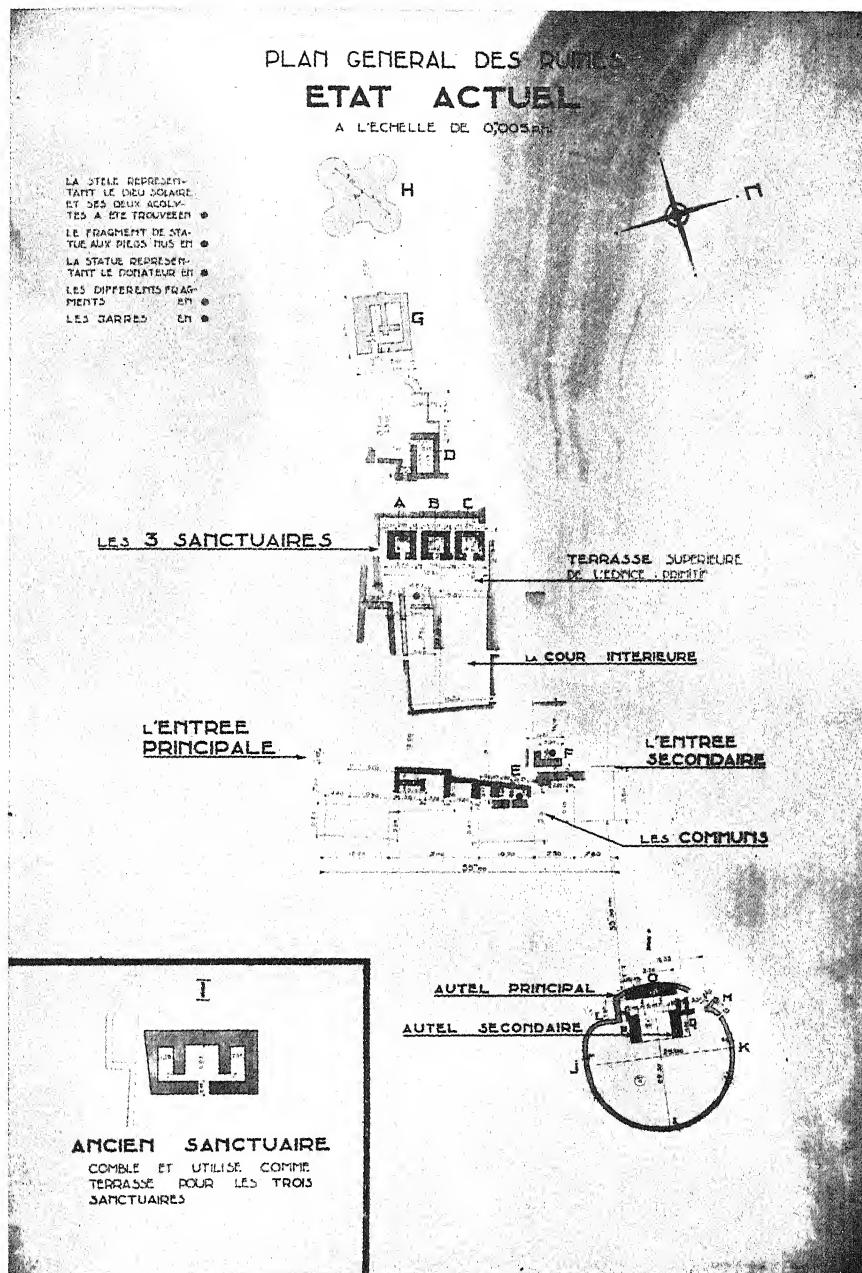


Fig. 1



the lower layer; that precaution was apparently due to the desire of avoiding the percolation of water along the walls. In the centre of the construction we find a room, with two other rooms having a rectangular plan and very small dimensions communicating with this central room (see fig. 1, I). The thickness of the partition walls should be noted. The big-sized crude brick construction is very different from that which is applied in the construction of the three temples which stand on the roof terrace of the edifice referred to above. That ancient edifice, once deserted, came to be the object of systematic spoliation for stones, bricks and other materials; so that it came to be the basement of the new structures which appear in deeper tint on the reconstruction effected by M. J. Carl (see figs. 3 & 4). That massive construction, with flat roof, "envelops" three independent cellules so that the devotees could accomplish easily the rite of circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*) even within the edifice. The three cellules, each provided with a separate entrance, are displayed in façade, the thick walls retain as in the rest of the edifice a substructure of blocks of schist, and each of the cellules represents a square block of 5m 40 on the side. The same square plan characterises the interior of the cellules A & B (2m 95 × 2m 95); but the cellule C is of lesser depth (2m 50) while the length is the same (2m 95). In each of the cellules, deep into the wall, we find a stone seat constructed by means of superimposed slabs of schist; that disposition is changed here and there by the insertion of blocks of curb-stones with dressed exterior acting as headers. That stone seat is encased in slight projecting slabs of schist carefully dressed and three quadrangular cavities are found in the stone seat, one in the centre and two on either side of the central cavity. In those holes are fixed in socket three statues of gods. For the three cellules therefore there were nine statues. M. J. Carl discovered in unearthing the stone seat of cellule A, a socket of white marble to which were found still adhering two legs of a statue. A small statue representing a donor was found in the debris at the right angle of the same cellule A. That statue had been detached

from the socket referred to before. The representation of Sūryya, the solar deity, and his acolytes (figs. 1 & 5) was discovered in course of clearing of the corridor separating the cellule B from the cellule C. No other statue has been recovered, only the fragments of the nimbus and the ornaments have been found. Excepting a small fragment sculptured in schist all other objects (see fig. 2) were of white marble of very good quality.

The building which encircles the three cellules stands against an edifice of massive proportions, very much damaged by the action of inclement weather (see the reconstruction, fig. 4). That construction reposes equally on the primitive temple I referred to above; certain sections of that temple serve the purpose of the terrace to the western face of the ruined edifice which we are going to discuss. A second room of spacious dimensions provided with a lateral entrance represents apparently a later superfluous addition; a closing wall divides itself towards the northern face of the latter construction. We are led to recognise the lodgings of the ministers or workers of the temple in the buildings now ruined, encircling the southern side, the eastern and a part of the northern sides of the inner court. The out-houses and the kitchens appear a little downward of the lodgings occupying the eastern side. These annexes have all their openings towards the east. From that side the retaining wall is very much raised looking like a rampart. In the rooms E & F (fig. 1) lamps and jars of crude pottery have been discovered. The jars bear a decoration of twisted cord in light relief. Two billon coins with the figure of Kusano-Sassanide-Malek Nap-ki (V-VI century A.D.) have been found in room F.

We have finished so far the intra-mural groups of construction: temples and annexes. Now we should tackle the annexes situated to the west and to the east of the group comprised within the platform delimited by the retaining wall. The construction G. nearest to the western face of the principal group, externally appears as a cubic block pierced by a single entrance on the eastern face. That

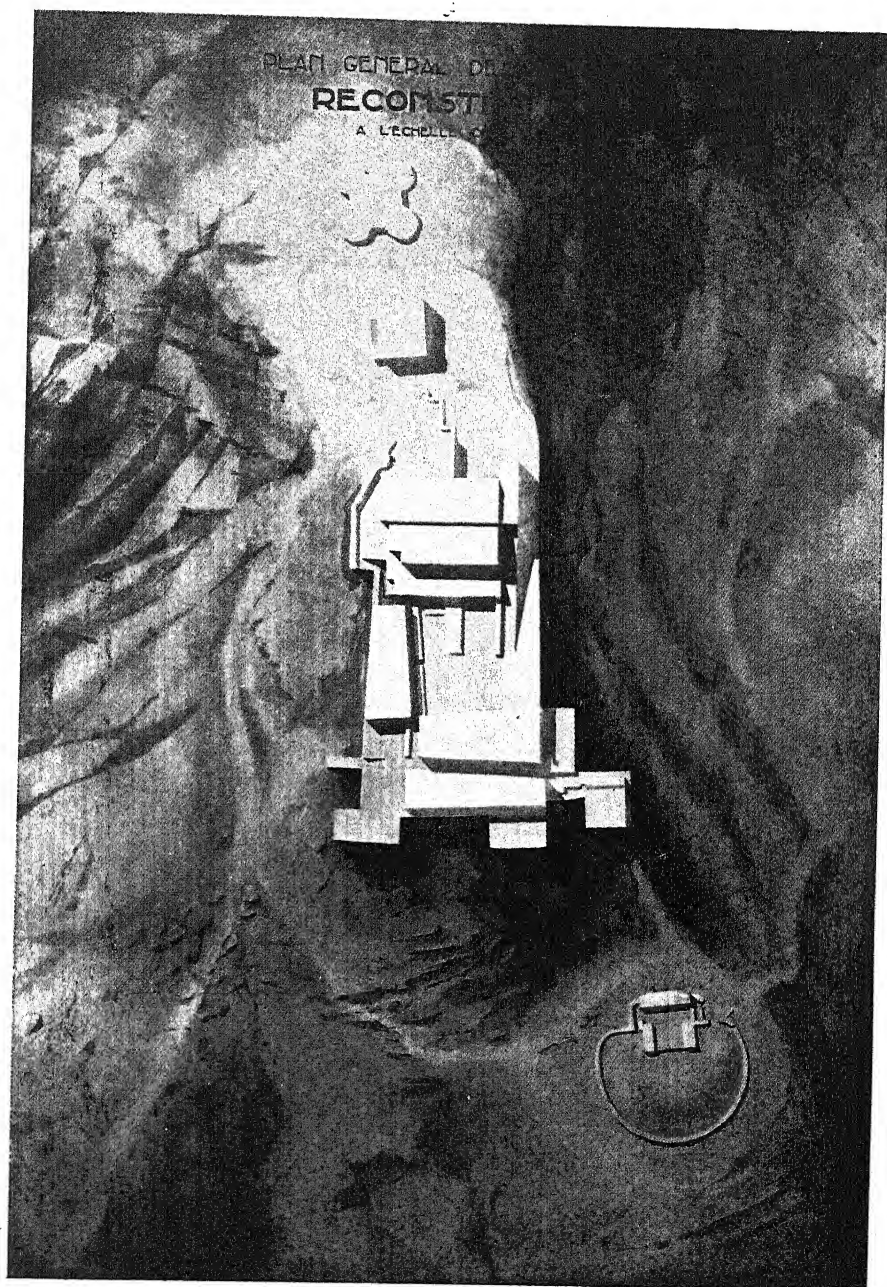


Fig. 2

opening permits an access to the vestibule communicating with two rooms. A stair-case to the left of the entrance permits us to reach the roof level of the edifice. The crude brick walls are constructed on a layer of huge undressed stones having nothing in common with the regular layers found at the base of the constructions A.B.C. Possibly this building represents a later construction independent of the principal group. The same observation might be applied to the quadrangular plinth, flanked by angles of circular elements which appear to the west of the edifice G. This massive construction of layers of irregularly disposed schist blocks does not exceed one metre in its highest parts. The plan of the monument does not invite any comparison with the styles already known, and it is difficult for us to risk a hypothesis relating to the object of its builders.

The annexe situated to the east of the principal group (I) seems to be more interesting and the trial diggings of M. Carl have revealed significant details: projection of a little enclosing wall shows a massive construction apparently an open-air altar. A methodical excavation was done under my direction in November, 1934. A plan of singular disposition was completely recovered (fig. 1 and fig. 4); it refers to a small wall of crude construction, earth being used in place of mortar, with a mean height of Om 50, with the length varying between Om 70 and Om 80. That wall has a plan perceptibly circular up to J.K. (diameter 29 metres). A slight flattening appears in L-M marking in L the point of departure of a junction with the southern face of the altar. An opening intervenes on the right side, corresponding to an entrance. The massive construction O, apparently an altar, (see fig. 1) is of rectangular plan, its west face being slightly rounded. The schist plinth is carefully laid on a levelling course and traces of the mortar still subsist on the south side, a little digging in the middle of the upper part of the construction exposed the levelling course regularly superimposed by white ashes and earth mixed with carbonaceous ashes; moreover human bones and skeletal remains: cranial bones,

shin bones (*tibia*), thigh bones were discovered. Perpendicularly to the extremities of the eastern face of that "principal altar" stand two massive constructions (P.Q.) of rectangular plan prolonged to the extremity of their north and south faces by a slight lowering down. The prolongation towards the north, of the detachment of the structure Q may be imputed to a later handling; the queer plan of that annexe, so strange in the Afghan territory, forces us to reserve our opinion. All the same, we do not feel overbold to attribute to that enclosure a ritualistic aim; we are even inclined to believe that to be the meeting place of the general mass of devotees, while the three narrow cellules containing the statues of the gods represented the private retreat accessible only to the priests and to the privileged few. The independent cellules enclosed by a structure with flat roofing serving equally the purpose of the *Pradakṣiṇa*, represent a structural disposition permitting us to invoke suggestive parallels in architecture. Let us take as an example a small temple dedicated to Śiva discovered in January, 1920, near the village of Bhumara in the Nagod state about 150 kilometres to the south-west of Allahabad.² That little temple which, according to Mr. R. D. Banerji belongs to the 5th century A.D. and according to Sir John Marshall to the 7th century, is a characteristic example of the Brāhmanical architecture of the Gupta style. Mr. Banerji observes that the temple of Bhumara is "exactly similar to the Pārvati temple at Nachna-Kuthāra in the Ajay-gadh State" (about 60 kilometres north-west of Bhumara). The only difference between Nachna-Kuthāra and Bhumara is in this that the first temple is furnished with a higher storey and that the second possesses two small miniature shrines on either side of the staircase which leads to the platform. In the case of both, the *garbhagrha* is enclosed in a room of large dimensions and the space between the outer and the inner walls represents the *pradakṣiṇa-patha*. We believe it

2 Vide R. D. Banerji: *The temple of Śiva at Bhumara, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16, Calcutta, 1924.

Fig. 3a

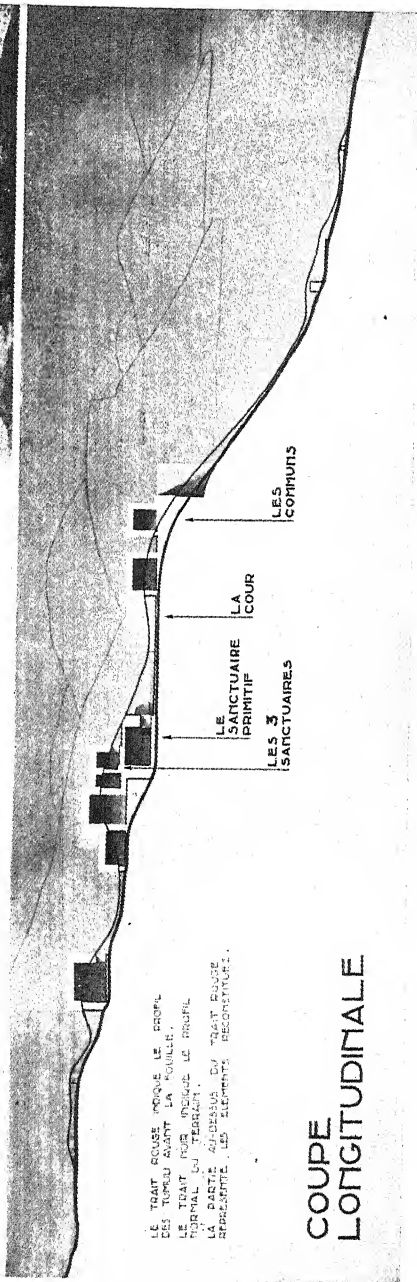
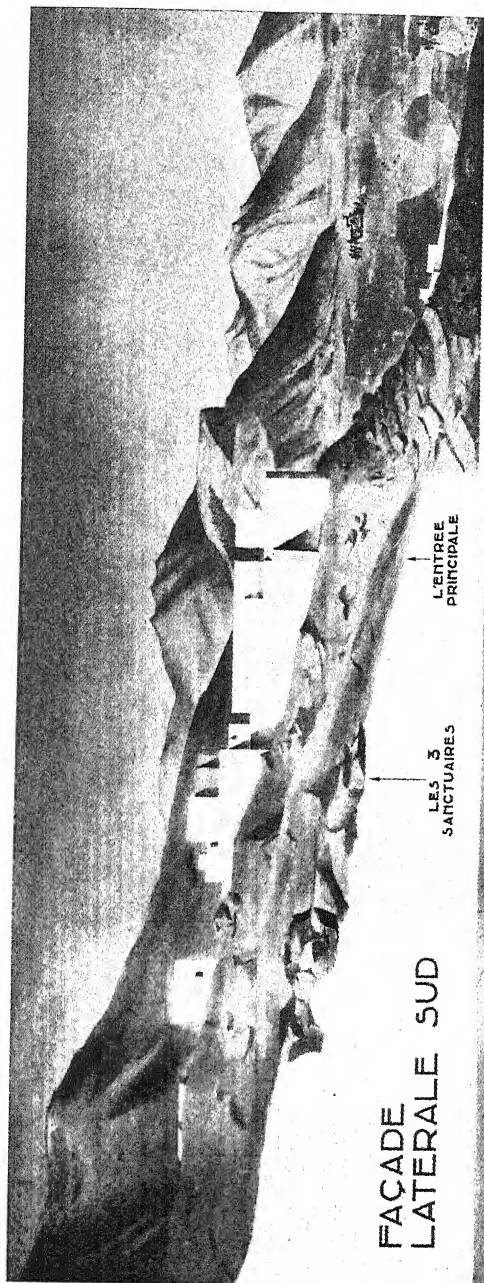
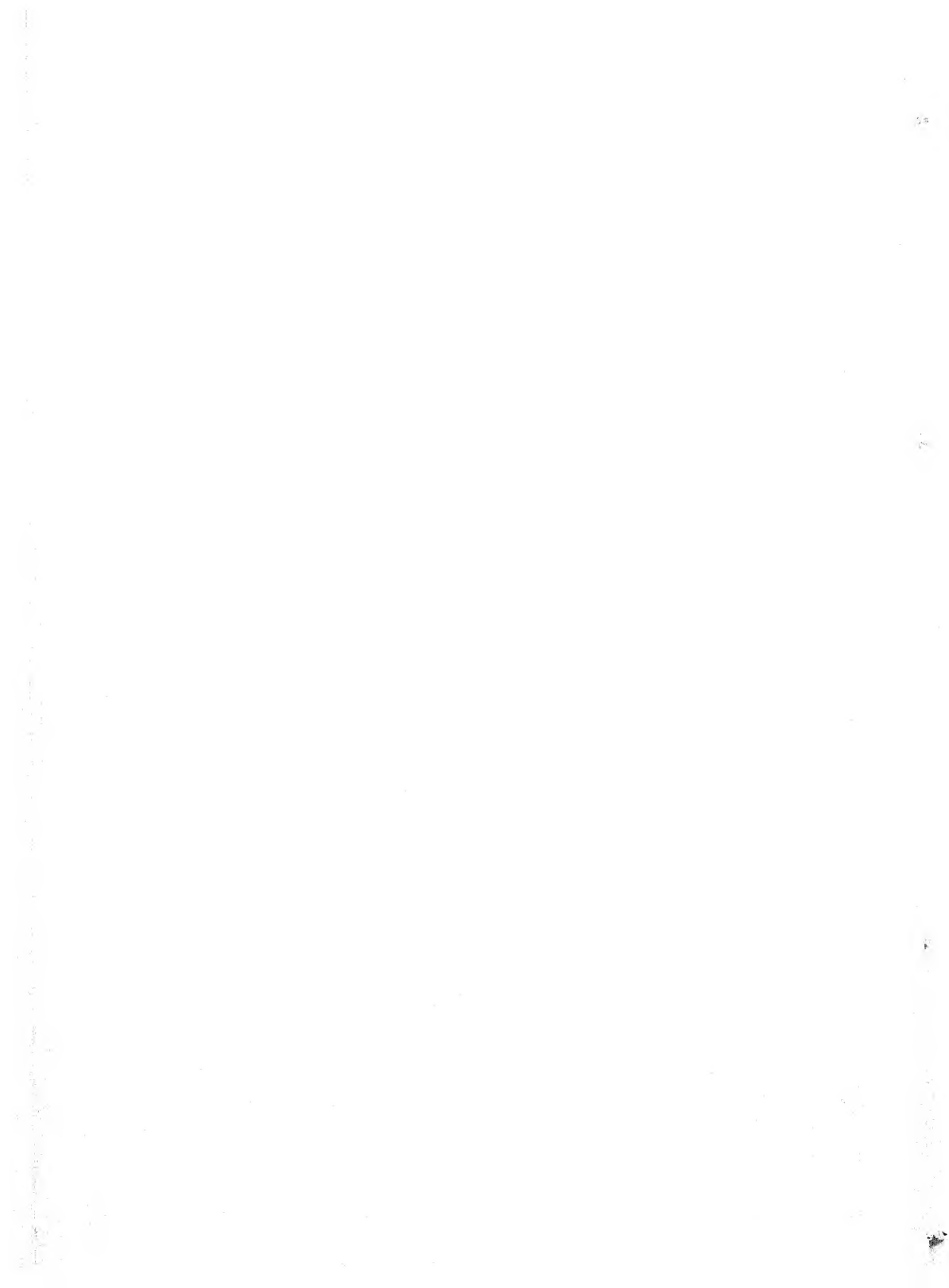


Fig. 3b



would be useful to quote exact figures in comparing the dimensions of the three temples: *I* Nachna-Kuthāra, *II* Bhumara³ and *III* Khair Khaneh (Kabul). In the case of the Kabul monument the dimensions given here are limited to a single cellule.

	External dimensions	Internal dimensions
Nachna-Kuthāra	... 4m 75 sq.	2m 45 sq.
Bhumara	... 4m 65 sq.	2m 45 sq.
Khair Khaneh	... 5m 40 sq.	2m 95 sq.

We could extend these comparisons to other Gupta temples and the dimensions recovered would rarely betray any considerable departure from those given above. We have observed that our comparisons refer only to a single cellule; but it may be convenient to note that the type of temple with three sanctuaries was not unknown in India. Mr. R. D. Banerji mentions in fact at the beginning of his report on the Śiva temple of Bhumara, a Gupta temple "triple-shrined" discovered at Deoguna in the Jasso state, not far from Bhumara.

The comparisons between Khair Khaneh and Bhumara are not limited to the architectural domain; their iconography lends itself to suggestive relations which we shall discuss after having examined in detail the principal finds of Khair Khaneh.

The group in white marble represents the solar deity and his acolytes. The god is seated in European style with legs apart, the forearms reposing on the thigh, the hands are broken above the wrists. The legs and the thighs appear to be singularly reduced in dimension if one compares them with the torso and with the head.⁴ The head alone re-

3 Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. XXI, pp. 95-97; *Annual progress report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1919*, pp. 60-61, paras. 26-28, pl. XV.

4 Head and torso OM 122
Thighs MM 053

Head only OM 048
Legs MM 074

presents about one-fifth of the *ensemble* of the body, proportions very decadent (canon of Polyclitus 1/7, and canon of Lysippus 1/8 respectively) corresponding exactly with that which we have already referred to in studying the Buddha of the great miracle of Paitava (excavation of 1920). *Vide* J. Hackin : *L'oeuvre de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*; Tokyo, 1933, p. 17.

The physiognomy of the personage presents singular details (fig. 6); the divergence of the arches of the ocular sockets of an abnormal obliquity, gives to the low and retreating forehead a triangular form. The eyes even with the head, very much apart, are "almond-shaped". The nose is slightly curved, the mouth large and well designed, the square chin is definitely projecting. The hair long and separated by a middle parting, is arranged in short curls carefully dressed. The drooping curls cover the greater part of the ears of which the lobes are visible, laden with ornaments. The diadem is adjusted by means of a band partially ornamented with big crude gems of rectangular shape separated by thin metal slips. On either side of the head, just where the gem ornaments stop, the band forms into two puffed knots; behind the head it is disposed in a cord ornament, which deftly brings the two extremities together forming into a plait and falling vertically along the back, marked by a slight undulation. The diadem is composed of triangular ornaments alternating with half-opened lotuses with five petals. An arched ornament of pearls encloses the various elements constituting the diadem. The vigorous torso is clad in a tunic without any facing, with neck open. The lower part of the tunic is largely covered by the hanging scarfs on the hands of the God. One perceives however the border of the tunic consisting of a row of pearls. In fact the cut of the tunic is identical with that of the vestments of the acolytes; the lower part rounded in form is characteristic. The ornaments consist of a necklace of big pearls, underlined by a pendant necklace of double chain from which a relic is suspended. The big rectangular gems disposed on a raised setting are placed vertically and are fixed on the circuitous band,

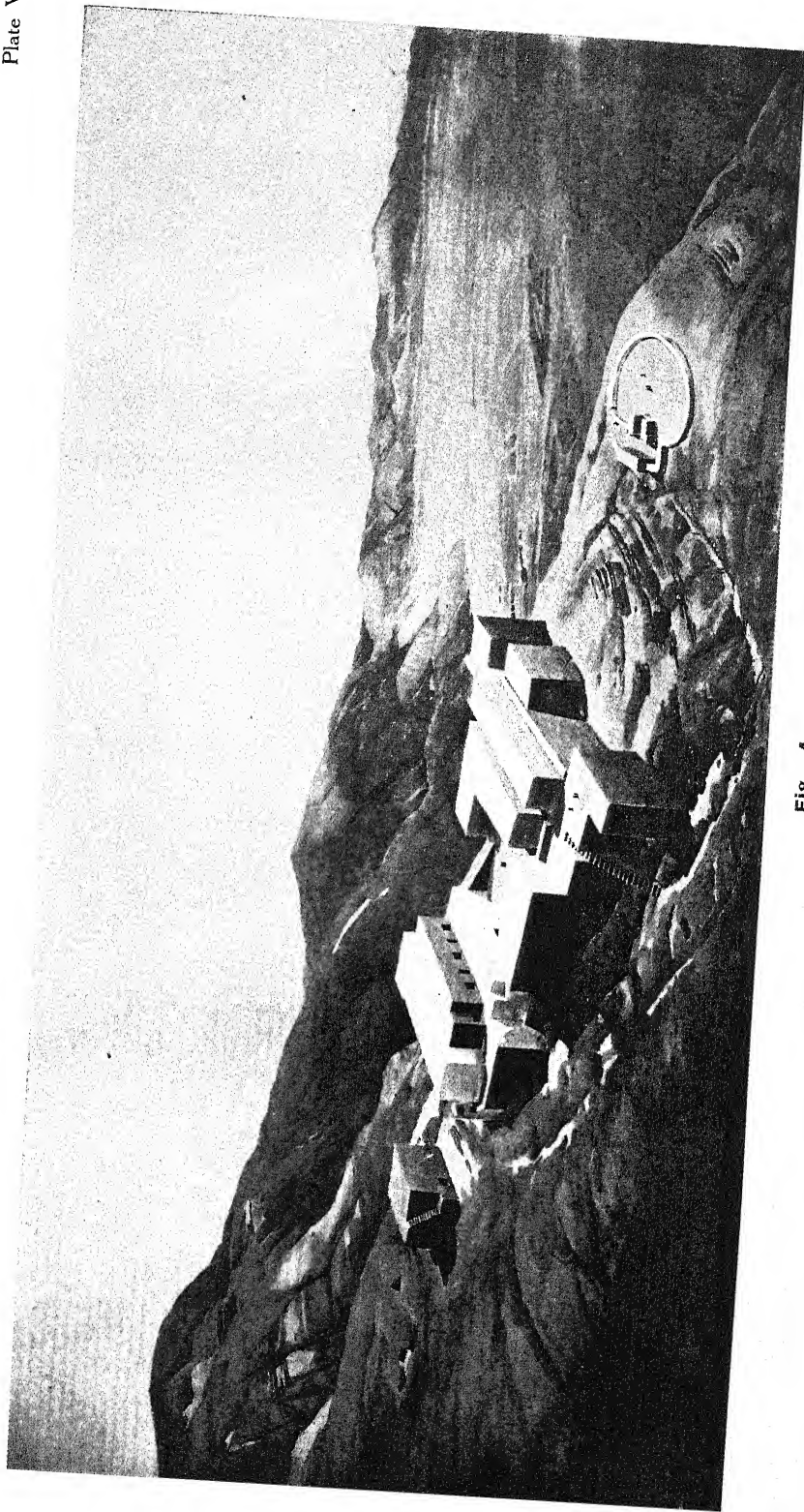


Fig. 4



two rows of pearls arranged on either side of the gems, the border of pearls decorating the ends of the sleeves of the tunic and the heavy bracelets—complete the sumptuous ornaments of the god. The girdle decorated with gems is fixed below the waist, its ends being in the form of a shell grooved into a ring; we see it before the forearms and again covering the end of the tunic. The boots remind one very well of those worn to-day by the Uzbeks and the Turks of Central Asia. The real boot of supple leather without sole adapts itself into a footwear which one must remove before entering the inner apartments. In our case these shoes are fastened to the feet by means of a running ribbon fixed with a buttonless buckle, and the ends of the ribbon fall on either side of the shoes. It may be noted that a row of pearls encircle the upper part of the boot and the same ornament extends vertically on the parting section in front of the boot corresponding to the tuft of the *tibia* and is prolonged till the very extremities of the shoes.

The two acolytes (fig. 5) stand in a singular attitude. The lower part of the body suffers from a marked twisting due to the oblique position of the torso one leaning towards the right another to the left as attending deities. The weight of the body hangs so heavily on the legs that the personages exaggerate the leaning position by a strong incline of the head. It would be convenient to remember specially that queer posture of the acolytes in view of the comparisons which will follow.

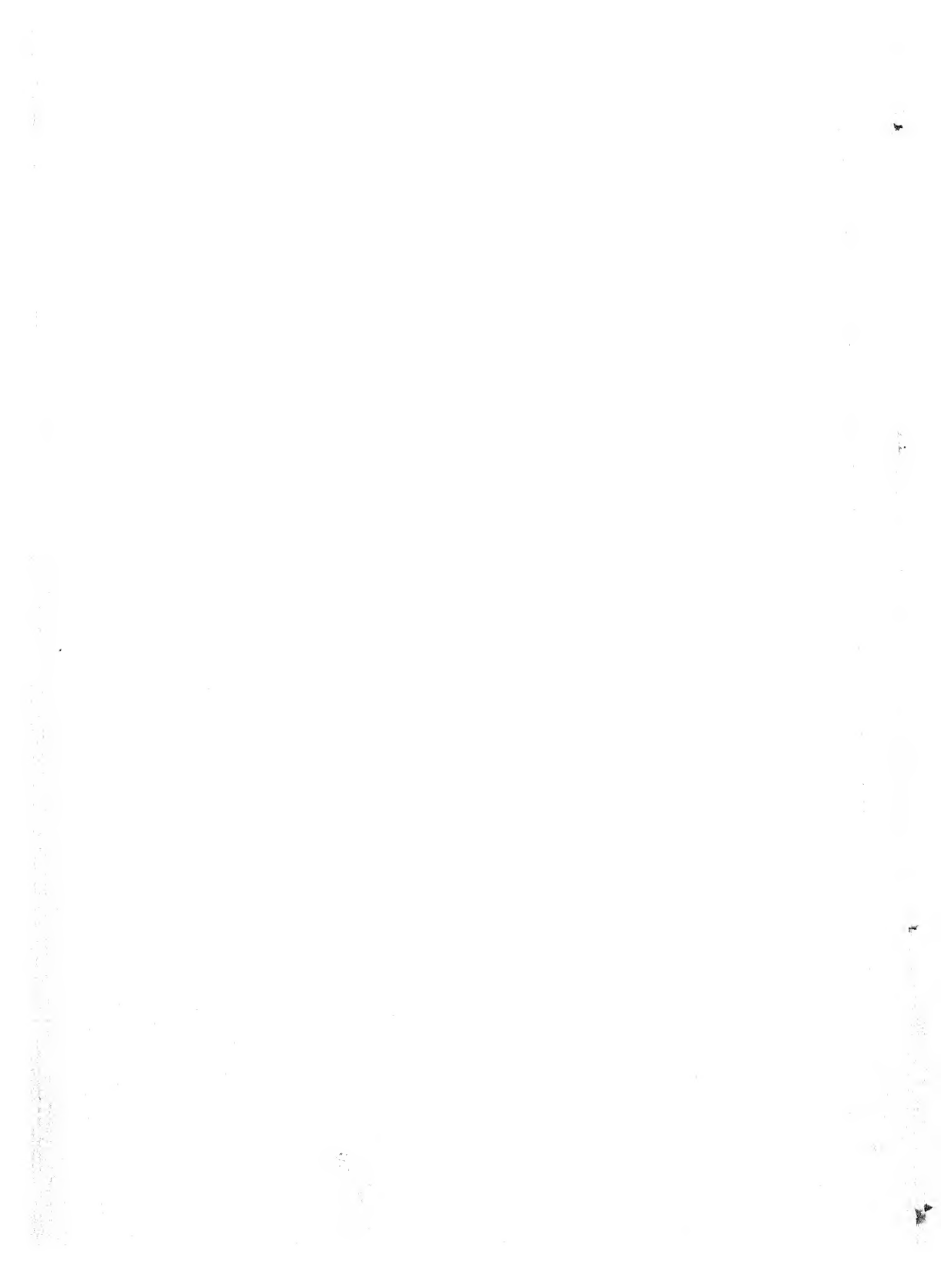
The attendant to the right possesses abundant hair; the beard by the stylized meshes reminds us of the Gandhāra prescription; and Central Asia abounds in representations of barbarians with moustaches and beards of that type. In Central Asia the meshes of the beard affect an ornamental treatment deriving definitely from those stylized meshes. The occidental origin of that type is indisputable. The nose is curved. The eyes are big but less so than those of the god. The circular ear-pendants are decked with pearls. The personage wears a skull cap with earlets provided with a button at the top. The tunic resembles that of the god

by virtue of its peculiar cut and its pearl lining. On the shoulders hangs a light mantle whose ends are held by a ring on the breast. The right arm is raised and the right hand with closed fingers holds a sort of a button up to the shoulder and its lower part is seen against the palm. The left hand is gathered against the breast and holds a foliage of rectangular form. The figure wears a skull cap and boots without ornaments. The attendant to the left is beardless; his hair treated in small curl reminds us of that of the god. The headdress is a sort of a mitre-bonnet with earlets decked with two lotuses. The vestments are exactly like those of the attendant to the right. The left forearm of the personage rests on a shield rounded at the top and provided with damier (draught-board) decoration. The right hand holds a spear whose iron point is adjusted on a circular ornament and is decorated with fillet of foliage design.

The three personages stand on a cornice ornamented with three fillets separated by two grooves. That entablature is carved in the middle with a slight reëntering (long: OM 04; prof. OM 01). In that reentrant is placed the head of a person with smooth (hair-less) visage decked with a turban. The naked torso that is visible emerges out of the front of a chariot sculptured in a queer fashion. That figure brandishes a whip and holds firmly, in the left hand held up to the waist, the reins restraining the two horses, sensibly represented in profile on either side of the conductor. It is convenient to observe that the heads and the front feet of the horses are directed towards the edge of the monument, the sculptor thus avoiding the too fragile parts flung ahead. It is to be noted that the horses are not yoked but in saddle accentuating thereby the aberrant character of the representation. The saddle is composed of a wooden frame garnished with leather with quadrille decoration and provided with a carpet with small square block designs on the border, and in case of the right side horse a row of pearls and in that of the left side little rectangular gems with diamond points. The saddle is fastened with the aid of an abdominal belt with chequered decorations and maintained in position by the breast-piece



Fig. 5



and the saddle-tie. The bridle is not in the form of a halter but is of the type provided with a bit and is decked with a tuft of horse-hair. The horses' mane is carefully dressed. Between the rump of the horses is represented in relief a sort of a seat with octagonal side whose object is difficult to explain, representing as it does an equally singular figuration of the chariot wheel of the solar deity. (*Vide* ch. 125 of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, verse 38—cited by Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brāhmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, pp. 161-162).

This description being complete, we are drawn toward comparisons which should furnish us with the materials for dating the monument. We note that the tunic of the god and of his attendants is of a known type. The bas reliefs of Taq-i-Bostan show us three Sassanide kings dressed in robes of similar cut, *viz.*, Shapur II (309-379 A.D.); Ardashir II (379-383 A.D.) and Shapur III (383-388 A.D.). Shapur II and Shapur III are represented on the same monument, side by side. Ardashir II appears on a bas relief in the company of Ormuz who accorded him the investiture and of the god Mithra.⁵ "The costume," observes Prof. Herzfeld, "is no longer that of the third century. A long robe descends to the knees but it is raised to the left and to the right in such a manner that it resembles a round apron." That is the normal costume of the second Sassanide period according to Prof. Herzfeld.⁶ For my part I do not consider that the long tunic is raised to the left and to the right. If we apply ourselves to our monument on which we may observe the scene more easily than on a bas-relief, we see that all the details of dress lead us to this result that the tunic is cut in such a way as to give that singular but very useful form facilitating as much the move-

5 E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin, 1920, pl. XXIX and pl. XXXII: E. Herzfeld, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. III, pp. 138-139; also G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, p. 261.

6 E. Herzfeld, *R.A.A.*, Vol. III, pp. 138-139.

ment of the cavalier as of the men at his feet. It appears certain that the use of that type of vestment was limited to the reigns of Shapur II, Ardashir II and Shapur III. We note that the sleeve of the tunics worn by the two kings are sewn with rows of pearls. The kings carry also the ornaments: a necklace of pearls and braces decked with gems fixed on a girdle highly raised, distinct from the belt. Our solar deity has but one belt so that the braces decorated with gems descend much lower; but the principle of the arrangement remains the same. A good specimen for comparison is furnished by the Hermitage Museum of Leningrad.⁷ It is a specimen of jeweller's art of the Sassanide epoch: a silver plate on which is delicately engraved a hunting scene. The royal personage piercing a leopard with his sword is no other than Shapur III (383-388 A.D.); the king wears a tunic of the "apron type" and very characteristically the border of the rounded lower part of the dress is decorated with a row of pearls. The same decoration is found at the extremities of the sleeves and is developed equally on the middle part of the feet,⁸ on the leggings from the crest of the tibia to the middle part of the extreme surface of the thigh. There is another element of comparison which we have not yet pressed in our service: the headdress. The simple details of the headgear worn by Shapur III differentiate him from his predecessors and successors. That is a headdress "formed on a flat crown ornamented by a flower-work in the lobes."⁹ Prof. Herzfeld has given an

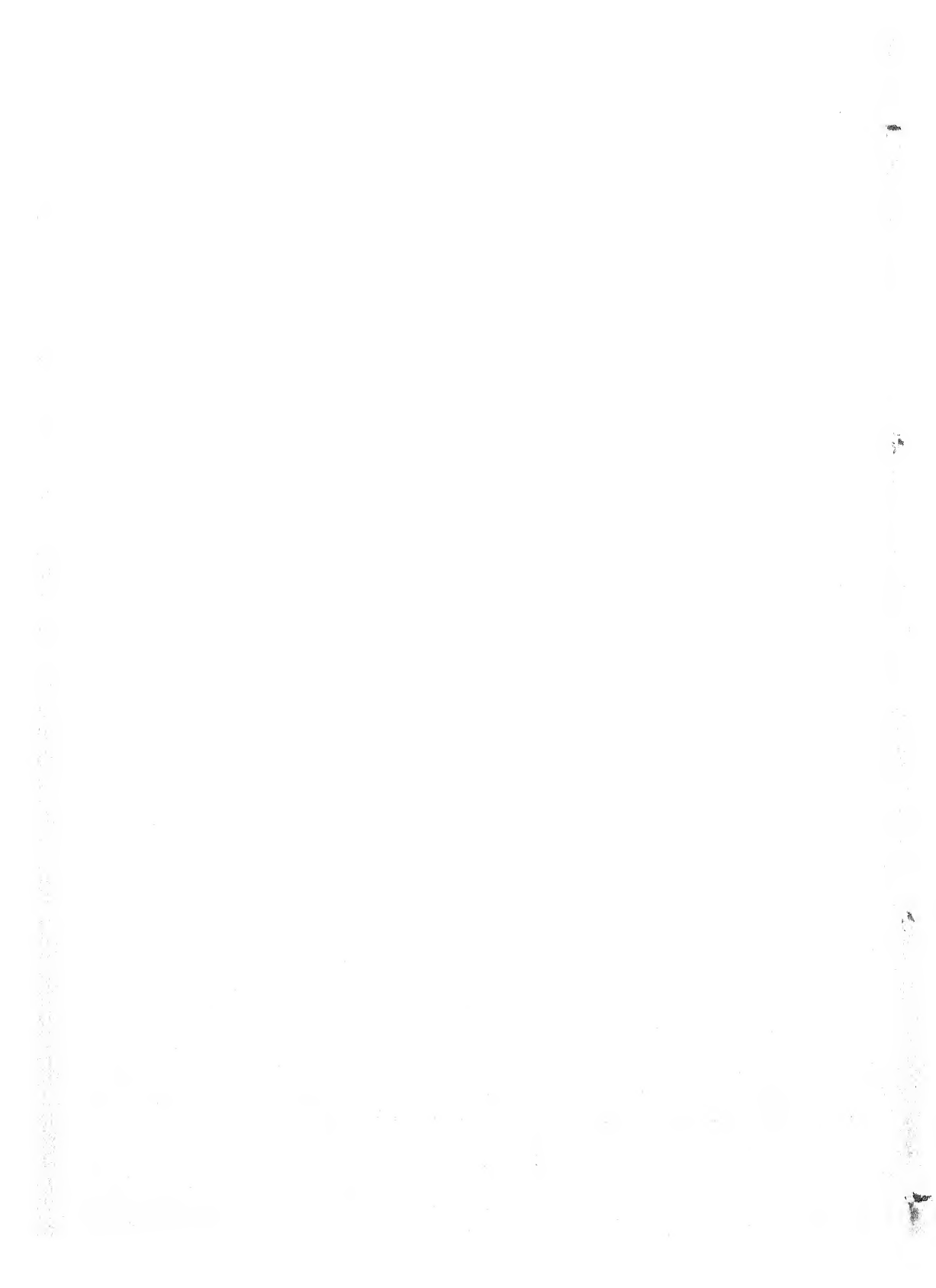
⁷ *Atlas des ustensiles antiques d'argent et d'or d'origine orientale trouvée principalement dans les limites de l'Empire Russe*, St. Petersburg, 1909 (en russe) pl. CXXII, no. 308.

⁸ An identical ornament is found on a fragment of a statue (feet and a part of the right leg) figuring in the collection of the Museum of Antiquities of the Ancient East in Istanbul. The person represented is an Aramaean prince of Assur (c. 3rd century A.D.).

⁹ J. de Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale*, fs. II, p. 315: See also of the same author in the *Treatise of Greek and Roman coins of Babylon*, III. *Monnaies Orientales*; tome I 3e-fascicule pl. LIX.



Fig. 6



outline design of that crown in his book.¹⁰ We find therein the flowers with five petals inscribed under the arch. The crown of our god in Khair Khaneh carries also flowers with five petals; we have therefore in both cases decorative motifs distinctly related. The two crowns, that of the god and of the king, are not only comparable on account of their ornamentation, they present equally a connection in forms, only the crown of the god is a little smaller than that of the king.

Our comparison bearing on the vestment and the head-dress have revealed to us details permitting a sufficiently close dating, the apron style tunic being current only in the reigns of Shapur II, Ardashir II and Shapur III, i.e., between 309 and 386 A.D. It is interesting to note that the coins of Shapur II and his successors are specially abundant in Kabul region. We should remember in that connection that the depôt of silver coins unearthed by M. J. Carl during his excavation of Teppe Marandjan (2 kilometres to the east of Kabul) contained nothing but the coins with the effigies of Shapur II (338 pieces), Ardashir II (24 pieces) and Shapur III (11 pieces). Those three reigns are placed just before the destructive invasion of the White Huns (beginning of the 5th century A.D.). Our group of monuments is certainly anterior to that event.*

¹⁰ *Am Tor von Asien*, p. 61, fig. 14.

* Translated by Dr. Kalidas Nag from the original French paper of Mon. J. Hackin of the Musée Guimet, Paris, Director of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan.

The Source of, and a Parallel to, Dionysius on the Beautiful.

By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

The second paragraph of Dionysius, *De Divinis Nominibus*, IV. 5, translated in the *Art Bulletin*, XVII. pp. 33-34, is evidently derived, and partly verbatim, from Plato, *Phaedrus*, 210-11. We give below in parallel columns the words of Dionysius, and those of Plato (Jowett's version):

De Div. Nom.—"But the super-beautiful is rightly called beauty absolutely, both because the beautiful that is in existing things according to their several natures is derived from it, and because it is the cause of all things being in harmony, and of illumination; because, moreover, in the likeness of light it sends forth to everything the beautifying distributions of its own fontal raying; and for that it summons all things to itself. Hence it is called *kalos* as gathering all things several into one whole, and *pulchrum* as at the same time most beautiful and super-beautiful; ever existent in one and the same mode, and beautiful in one and the same way; neither created nor destroyed, nor increased nor diminished; nor beautiful in one place or at one time and ugly elsewhere or at another time; nor beautiful in one relation and ugly in another; nor here but not there, as though it might be beautiful for some and not for others; but self-accordant with itself and uniform with itself, and always beautiful, and as the fount of all beauty, in itself pre-eminently possessed of beauty. For in the simple and supernatural nature of all things beautiful, all beauty and all that is beautiful have pre-existed uniformly in their cause."

Phaedrus.—"He who has been instructed thus far.....when he comes to the end will suddenly perceive a nature of wondrous beauty.....a nature which in the first place is everlasting, not growing and decaying, or waxing and waning; secondly, not fair in one point of view and foul in another, or at one time or in one relation or at one place fair, at another time or in another relation or in another place foul, as if fair to some and foul to others.....but beauty absolute, separate, simple, and everlasting, which without diminution and without increase, or any change, is imparted to the ever-growing and perishing beauties of all other things. He who from these ascending.....using these as steps only..... arrives at the notion of absolute beauty, and at last knows what the essence of beauty is."

Also *Cratylus*, "To have 'called' things useful is one and the same thing as to speak of to *kalon*."

Dionysius, and in accordance with him the whole Scholastic tradition, takes for granted and argues from an identity of the good, the beautiful, light, and truth in the ultimate subject, *i.e.*, in God. In this the Scholastic and Vedic formulations are in perfect agreement. In the *R̥gveda* we are confronted with a variety of terms which are so far pregnant in their significance that it is often impossible to say that any one of them is employed in a given context to denote a single one of the meanings "good" (*i.e.*, what is desirable, appetible, or lovable), or "radiant," or "beautiful" exclusively; we can only judge that in a given context one or other of these values predominates, and translate accordingly. Another series of terms connotes at one and the same time "light" and "sound"; *arc*, for example means at the same time to shine and/or intone, *bhā* to shine is ultimately coincident with *bhan* "to speak," and *sva* or *sv̥* implies either to "shine" or to "sound." *Sūrya*, the Sun, consubstantial with *Ātman*, "Spirit," derives from the latter root (of which the two forms can only artificially be distinguished), of which we may say that the two meanings are indistinguishable in *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, III. 33. "The Sun is sound; therefore they say of the Sun 'He proceeds resounding' " *āditya svāra eva.....svāra eti*).¹

From the Vedic point of view, the shining of the Supernal Sun in principio, and the utterance of the primordial "word" are one and the same coincident "event." Throughout the Vedic tradition, the Sun is identified with Truth (*satyam*). In illustration of the use of *arc* may be cited RV. I. 92. 2-3 "The Dawns sing (*arcanti*) like women skilled in their tasks."

It is not, however, our present intention to discuss at any length the Vedic and traditional Indian terminology of the beautiful. This has indeed already been done, so far as the *R̥gveda* is concerned, by Oldenberg in an admirable mono-

1 Cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, X. 76, "So singing, those burning suns" (*si cantando, quegli ardenti soli*).

graph² which should be consulted by every student of India aesthetics, and especially by those who are interested in the comparison of Indian with Scholastic aesthetic. Our present purpose is rather to call attention to a more specific parallel to the Platonic and Vedic tradition, which parallel occurs in the *Chândogya Upaniṣat*, IV. 15. We offer first a literal translation, assuming the meaning "beautiful" for *vāma*, and append a brief discussion of this word and of the root *bhū* as employed in other contexts:

"They call this Spirit (*ātman*), the Undying, Brahman, the 'Convent of the Beautiful' (*saṃyad-vāmaḥ*), because all beautiful things (*sarvāṇi.....vāmāṇi*) convene (*saṃyanti*) in it. In one who understands this, likewise, all things beautiful convene. And it is also 'Beauty-bringer' (*vāma-niḥ*), because it brings all beautiful things. One who understands this is likewise a bringer of all beautiful things. And it is also "Light-bringer" (*bhāma-niḥ*) because it illuminates (*bhāti*) all the worlds. He who understands this likewise illuminates all the worlds."

With this may be compared *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, IV. 18. 6=*Kena Upaniṣat*, 31: "It, Brahman, is called 'That Lovesome' (*tad-vana*). As 'That Lovesome' It is to be adored. To one who understandeth this, all beings' love converges" (*saṃvāñchanti*).

Vāma and *vana* in these passages derive from *van*, to "love" or "like" of which a verbal form occurs in —*vāñchanti*; there is also no doubt close connection with *vena*, "loving," etc., commonly an epithet of the Vedic Gandharva, Sun and Indra. *Vāma* is generally rendered by some such word as "beautiful" or "lovely," cf. such later usages as *vāma-bhrū* "having beautiful eye-brows," and *vāma-netra* "with beautiful eyes." In the present context, indeed, Hume's rendering

2 Oldenberg, H., "Die verischen Wörter für schön und Schönheit, und das vedische Schöheitsgefühl," *Nachrichten v. d. K. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Berlin, 1918, Heft 1, pp. 35-71; an English version was published in *Rūpam*, No. 32, Calcutta, 1927, with the title "Vedic words for 'Beautiful' and 'Beauty', and the Vedic sense of the Beautiful."

of *saṃyad-vāma* by "Loveliness-uniter" is better perhaps than would be "Beauty-uniter,"³ inasmuch as "lovely" implies at the same time "beautiful" and the attractive qualities of what is "lovely," i.e., lovable; incidentally, this would bring us even closer to Dionysius, who says that "The good is praised by sainted theologians as the beautiful and as beauty; and as delight and the delectable; and by whatever other befitting names are held to imply the beautifying power or the attractive qualities of beauty." The word *vāma* is discussed by Oldenberg, *Rūpam*, loc. cit., p. 114, "It seems to me that *vāma* is used primarily to describe those things in the attainment of which one rejoices or would wish to rejoice." Śaṅkara, commenting on *vāmāni* in our *Chāndogya* text explains by *vananīyāni*, *sambhajanīyāni*, *śobhanāni*, i.e., "desirable things, things in which one would wish to participate, beautiful things." This introduction of the concept of "participation" (root *bhaj*) is of particular interest in connection with Dionysius, who describes all partial beauties as "participations," and calls all relatively beautiful things "participants," thus, "The beautiful and beauty are indivisible in their cause, which embraces All in One. In existing things these are divided into 'participations' and 'participants'; for we call 'beautiful', whatever participates in beauty; and 'beauty', that participation in the beautifying power which is the cause of all that is beautiful in things." We shall see presently that Śaṅkara's conception of *vāma* as a quality to be "participated" in, is by no means peculiar to himself, is an idea already clearly expressed in the Vedic sources.

Vāma in the Rgveda is employed especially in connection with the powers of Light. Agni, for example, is in this sense "lovely" (*vāma*) in RV. I. 164. 1. In I. 48. 1, Dawn, often

3 "Uniter" is unsatisfactory in any case, *saṃyat*, like *saṃgamana*, meaning rather "meeting place" than "cause of meeting," "unity" rather than "uniter." The Ātman or Brahman as *saṃyat* is not the "doer" of anything; it is for the Wayfarer to "unite," or rather "reunite" manifold things in one, thereby reaching his goal, which is the unity of all things.

called the most glorious of lights, is said to "shine with loveliness" (*saha vāmena*); and we may bear in mind the passage regarding Dawn already cited, as to which Oldenberg remarks "the double meaning of *arc* 'to shine' and 'to sing', leads to a comparison of the gleaming light of dawn to women singing at their tasks." *Vāma* in the general sense of "lovely" as explained above is something which is either especially characteristic of the Powers of Light, or something which it is most appropriate to offer to them. Thus we find the prayer addressed to deities "May we obtain all lovely things" (*viśvā vāmāni dhīmahi*, V. 82. 6 and VIII. 22. 18). In this expression, *dhīmahi*, glossed by Sāyaṇa (*dhārayāma* and *labhāmahe*, "may we hold, or get") is more literally "may we contemplate", and in this intellectual sense, "know" and "possess", just as "Varuṇa knows all things according to His speculation" (*viśvaṃ sa veda Varuṇo yathā dhiyā*, RV. X. 11. 1); it is indeed just because things are found, done, and made by speculation (*dhi*=*dhyāna*),—the word is often associated with *kr*, to "do" or "make," e.g., IV. 1. 10, *dhiyā yad viśve amṛtā akṛnuān*. "What the Immortals have created by their speculation," X. 53. 6, *patho..... dhiyā kṛtān* "paths made by contemplation", or with other verbs of action, e.g., VIII. 24. 7, *dhiyā no vṛtra-hantama* "best slayer of the Dragon for us, by Thy speculation",—that so much significance attaches to the well-known prayer, RV. III. 62. 10, *tat savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt*, "May we behold that desirable lustre of Angel Savitr (the Sun), may He impel our speculation". That "desirable lustre" would be assuredly a "lovely" (*vāma*) thing; and here again it may be added that while the primary meaning of *bhargas* is that of "sparkle" or "lustre" (as of fire), the word when adjectivally employed in connection with speech means "scintillating", just as we speak of a "sparkling" wit. This usage occurs in AV. VI. 69. 2 and IX. 1. 19, where just as in RV. VIII. 22. 18 the Aśvins are prayed to for "all lovely things" (*viśvā vāmāni dhīmahi*) so here the Aśvins, addressed specifically as "Lords of beauty" (*śubhaspati*) are besought "that I may speak splendid (*bhargasvatim* in AV. VI. 69. 2, *varcasvatim* in IX.

1. 19) words amongst the people." Cf. the primary sense of Lat. *claris*, "illuminated," *claritatis* in Scholastic aesthetic as an indispensable quality of beauty (*pulchritudo*) and modern "clear sky", to "hear clearly", and "understand clearly". In the Vedic tradition this association of radiance with beauty, as virtually synonymous conceptions, occurs notably in connection with the word *śrī*, which is discussed by Oldenberg, *loc. cit.*

To return to *vāma*: we have pointed out that *vāma* is a quality typically inherent in the Powers of Light, and accordingly prayer is addressed to them to bestow, or share it out (roots *dā* and *bhā*), thus RV. IV. 30. 24 (addressed to the Sun) "Bestow whatever is most lovely" (*vāmam-vāmam...* *dadātu*, the *āmreḍita* being intensive), RV. III. 15. 22. "May we, as comrades of thine, O Indra, become participants in what is lovely" (*vāmabhājaḥ syām*), and VI. 19. 10, "May we, O Indra, in company with those who are most heroic, in virtue of (Thy) deeds redoubtable, enjoy the lovely" (*vaṁśimahi vāmam*, glossed by Sāyaṇa, *vananiyaṁ dhanam...* *sambhajemahi*, "may we have part in most desirable riches").

As to *vibhāti* in our text, it is of course a common place in RV. that Fire, Sun, or any aspect of Deity "illuminates" (*vibhāti*) these worlds (e.g., II. 8. 4; V. 58. 9; VII. 9. 4; X. 6. 2; X. 121. 6). All that need to be emphasized here is that the Light of the Supernal Sun, the "Only Light" (*jyotir ekaṁ*, RV. I. 93. 4), the "Light of Lights" (*jyotiṣām jyotiḥ*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣat*, IV. 4. 16), is an omniform and image-bearing light (*jyotir asi viśviśvarūpam*, *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, V. 25, *sarūpeṇa jyotiṣā*, RV. X. 15. 3) which when it shines "releases all fair-forms" (*viśvā rūpāṇi pratimuṇcate*, RV. V. 81. 2). The significance of these expressions, in which there is involved an exemplary concept of the relation between the One and the Many, we have dealt with at greater length in "Vedic Exemplarism", to appear this year in the *James Haughton Woods Memorial Volume*. For the present we have said enough, perhaps, to show that our *Chāndogya* passage, interpreted with the help of related texts, presents

a valid parallel in particular to the words of Dionysius, and in general to the whole Platonic and Scholastic conception of an absolute, immutable, and single Beauty or Loveliness in which all several goods and beauties inhere, and from which these derive whatever in them is good or beautiful by way of participation" (*bhāgem-bhāgam*, whence the designation of the Distributor as *bhaga*, *bhagavat*, Who "fills these worlds by a division of Himself", *ātmānaṃ vibhajya pūrayati imān lokān*, *Maitrī Upaniṣat*, VI. 26). We have indicated further, and have summarily traced throughout the Vedic tradition, the concept of an identity *in re* of the good, the beautiful, and the true; whether thought of as expressed in light and visually apprehended, or as expressed in sound and apprehended by audition; the mode of apprehension and possession being in either case primarily speculative.

Non-Aryan Elements in Indo-Aryan

By Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Calcutta University

The Dravidian substratum in Sanskrit has been discussed by several scholars, and Kittel in his *Kannāḍa Dictionary* has given some 450 Sanskrit words with possible Dravidian connexions. A few other words in both Sanskrit and Prakrit and the Vernaculars have subsequently been suggested as being of Dravidian origin by other scholars. Sylvain Lévi (whose sudden and unexpected death a few weeks ago we all mourn as an irreparable loss to Indology) and his pupils, Jean Przyluski of Paris and Prabodh Chandra Bagchi of Calcutta, and to some extent the present writer, suggested a number of words in Indo-Aryan as being of Austri- (Kol or Munda, Mon-Khmer, etc.) origin and affinity. The capital work in this line has so far been Przyluski's. A few more words are given below as indicating possible cases of a substratum of Austri origin in Indo-Aryan.

[1]. Sanskrit *kṛka-vāku* = 'cock', 'peacock'; *caṅka-vāka* = 'a kind of duck'; *baṅka, vaṅka* = 'crane'; *kaḷaviṅka* (Pali *kaṇaviṅkā, kaḷaviṅkā*) = 'a kind of bird; the sparrow' (Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, Taittiriya Saṃhitā, Manu, etc.), the cuckoo (*Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*); the white *cāmara* (late Sanskrit), etc.

The words *kṛka-vāku* and *caṅka-vāka* are compounds, the second element in both apparently being the same word, or derivatives from the same root: *vāku, vāka*. *Kṛka-vāku* can easily be explained as an onomatopoeic formation: 'the bird whose voice or call is *kṛka*'—where *kṛka* can be taken to be an imitation of the cock's crowing (*kṛka* = *kṛk*). *Vāku* can be explained as a derivative from *√vac* = 'speak', 'utter', 'recite', 'read', 'proclaim', etc. *Kṛka-vāku* by itself therefore can be taken as a native Aryan formation.

In the case of *caṅka-vāka*, the derivation presents difficulties. *Caṅka-vāka* = 'wheel-voice' appears to be un-

meaning. The word is found in the R̥gveda. The word *vākā* = 'speaking' occurs in Vedic literature, in the sense of 'chattering,' 'murmuring,' 'humming,' and in this sense it is in the compound formation *cīrī-vāka* = 'cricket', found in the Manu-saṃhitā. Probably *kr̥ka-vāku* = 'lizard', 'chameleon' (as opposed to the other sense of 'cock', 'peacock') can be placed beside *cīrī-vāka*,—*kr̥ka-vāku* being therefore 'an animal which cries *kr̥ka* or *kr̥k*,' referring to the noise of the house-lizard. *Kr̥ka-vāku* in the sense of 'lizard' however, is given as a late Sanskrit word in Monier Williams, and is in all likelihood a wrong reading for *kr̥ka-lāsa*, the common word for 'lizard or chameleon,' found from the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā, the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa onwards ; and in fact it is *kr̥ka-lāsa* which lives to the present day (cf. Bengali *kāklās* < * *kaṇka-lāsa*, * *kaṇka-lāsa* = *kr̥ka-lāsa*). The element *lāsa* in the word is not satisfactorily explained, but, in the absence of a better suggestion, we may connect it with *lāsa* = 'jumping, sporting, dancing, gambolling'; *lāsa* is unquestionably the same word as *rāsa* = 'the dance of the cowherds, in which Kṛṣṇa took part.'

Kr̥ka-vāku = 'cock, peacock,' and *caṅka-vāka* = 'a kind of goose or duck' will give better sense if we take their second element, *vāku*, *vaṅka*, to be a word meaning 'bird' or 'fowl,' a word of Austric origin. In Skeat and Blagden's *Comparative Vocabulary of the Aboriginal Dialects* in Vol. II of their well-known work, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* (London, 1906) we find a common Austro-Asiatic word, occurring in the Sakai-Senoi dialects, in the following forms (Vocabulary, F. 255): *pūk*, *puḥ*, *pūk*, *poḥ*, *puḥ*, *pūp*, *pūp*, *pup*, *poḥ*, *pōḥ*, *po*, *ra-poḥ*, *keṭṭ*, *puḥ* *ī-bé*, *pōḥ* *ibū*, *ra-poḥ* *ī-put*, *pūg* *libi*, etc. The basic form would appear to be *puḥ* or *poḥ*; and with these forms, Chowra Nikobar *ta-fak* 'fowl' has been compared.

The cock and peacock are birds native to South-Eastern Asia, and it could be reasonably expected that words for these would be borrowed in Indo-Aryan, along with other

words which are names for special Indian flora and fauna. The words for 'fowl' and 'bird' are inter-changeable in many languages. And 'bird' in general can be restricted to a 'special kind of bird.'

It seems that an Austro-Asiatic word like *pok* or **bok* was current in the Gangetic plains among the speakers of the Kol and other 'Austrie' dialects, which were later ousted by Indo-Aryan. This word, meaning 'bird' or 'fowl,' was specialised in Indo-Aryan to mean 'crane, heron' and adopted into Sanskrit as *baṭa*, *vaṭa*. The old sense of 'fowl' is found in *kr̥ka-vāku* 'cock, peacock' = 'the *kr̥ka* or crowing fowl' where *vāku* is an extension of this *pok*, **bok*, **vok*, but with possible contamination from the Aryan word *vākā* < \sqrt{vac} .

Caṭra-vāka : possibly the first element, *caṭra*, is equally of onomatopoeic origin. Either it may mean 'a bird whose voice is like that of a (creaking) wheel', or 'a bird which makes sound like—*caṭra*'. This *caṭra* may in itself be just Sanskritisation of a popular *caṭṭa*, indicating the quack or cackling noise of the bird in question. We know that the Old Indo-Aryan pronunciation of *c* was something like *k'* or *ky* (i.e., the sound of the true palatal stop). *Caṭṭa* = *k'akṭa* can be taken as the old North-Indian way of noting down the quack-quack of the goose or duck. The call of the *caṭra-vāka* duck, as observed by a European sportsman who has noted its habits, sounds like *kwankō kwankō*, (as quoted in Dr. Satya Charan Law's Bengali work *Pāṭhīr Kathā* or 'the Story of the Birds', 1st edition, Calcutta, p. 137, footnote).

-*Vāka*, *-vāku*, *baṭa*, *vaṭa* would in this way be explained as an Austro-Asiatic word for 'bird' or 'fowl,' retaining its general sense in the compound formations *kr̥ka-vāku*, *caṭṭa-vāka*, *caṭra-vāka*, and developing the special sense of 'a crane or heron' in *baṭa*, *vaṭa*.

The Austro-Asiatic *vāka* is possibly found in another Indo-Aryan word—Sanskrit *kalaviṅka*, Pali *karaviṅkā*, *kalaviṅkā*, which would appear to be identical with the name of Aśoka's queen *Kālūvāḍi*. In a note to *Indian Culture*

(a recent *Oriental Journal* published from Calcutta, under the patronage of Dr. B. C. Law and edited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. B. M. Barua and Dr. B. C. Law), Vol. I, no. 1, July, 1934, pp. 122-123, Dr. B. M. Barua suggests the identification of Asandhimitrā (Asandhimittā), mentioned in Buddhist literature as a queen of Aśoka, with Kāluvāki. His ground for this identification is a connection between the mythical bird *kaḷaviṅkā*, or *kaṛaviṅkā*, and Asandhimitrā and the name Kāluvāki. In Asoka's so-called Queen's Edict, mention is made of Queen Kāluvāki as his second queen (*dutiyā devī*), the mother of prince Tivara (*Tivala-mātā*). This is all that we know of her from Aśokan inscriptions.) In the Pali texts, however, we find a story narrated which prompts Dr. Barua, reasonably enough, to connect Asandhimitrā with Kāluvāki as being really the same person. It is stated in the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* of Buddha-ghosa (II) that Asandhimittā, a wife (*devī*, and not the chief queen, *aggamahesī*) of Dhammāsoka "enquired of the King if there was any creature the voice of which might be taken as the exemplification of the voice of a Buddha. The reply was that the desired creature was no other than the bird Karavikā or Kalavinkā of the Himalayan region. She had a Karavikā of clear and sweet voice brought for her and was deeply charmed by the demonstration successfully made in her presence." Dr. Barua further says: "In this legend of Asandhimittā's fondness for the bird Karavikā there seems to lurk a suggestion about the identity of Asandhimittā of Buddhist literature with Kāluvāki of Aśoka's inscription."

The name *Kāluvāki* is explained by Dr. Barua as being the same as *Kāru-vāci*, meaning 'one of charming speech.' Dr. Barua quotes Bühler's view that *Kāluvāki* is a *gotra* name, a similar name *Kāravaya* or *Kāravaca* being actually found in the inscriptions.

The suggestion that *Kāluvāki*, Pali *kaḷaviṅkā*, *kaṛaviṅkā* and Sanskrit *kaḷaviṅka* are connected seems to be quite plausible. As to what this bird *kaḷaviṅka-kaṛaviṅkā* was, there is difference of opinion. The Pali form and the

Pali texts do not identify it. In the Vedic texts and in the Manu, as referred to by Monier Williams, the Sanskrit word *kaḷaviṅka* means 'a sparrow'; in the Buddhist text the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, it means 'a cuckoo.' The latter will accord better with the story as in the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*.

Kāluvāki might very well be another form of *kaḷaviṅka*, *kaṛavikā*, *kaḷaviṅkā*; and it probably meant a bird of sweet sound in that case. While the Aryan origin of the word cannot be taken serious objection to, we note that in the Aśoka cycle another personality at least had a name which was that of a bird: Aśoka's son Kunāla or Kuṇāla. *Kāluvāki* would be an older form, or a side-form, of *kaḷaviṅka-kaṛavikā-kaḷaviṅkā*. The story of queen Asandhimittā listening to the *kaṛaviṅka* bird from the Himalayas may itself have later on arisen from the queen possessing (probably among her sobriquets—or as a special name) the name of the bird as her name as well. Cf. the names *Hārīta*, *Śuka*, *Baka*, *Kaṅka*, *Krauñca*, etc. for men. Names of birds for women are also known. This *Kāluvāki*=*kaḷaviṅka* etc., as a bird-name, at once suggests *-vāka*, *-vāku* in *caḅṛa-vāka*, *kaṛka-vāku*. And we actually find in the Austro-Asiatic dialects of the Malay Peninsula words like the following: (Skeat and Blagden, B. 216A) *kaḷobok*='bird' (a doubtful word, probably connected with words for 'butterfly' given under B 482 quoted below); (B 221) *kaḷau*, *chim kaḷau*='a special bird' (*chim* is the generic name for 'bird'); (B 215) *kāwod*, *kaḷod*, *kaḷot*, *kaḷau*, *kāwau*, *kaḷaw*, *kaḷao*, *kaḷau*, etc.= 'bird' and (B 482) *kerbak*, *kerbā*, *kerḡap*, *k'lobok*='butterfly,' Malay *kaḷau*='argus pheasant.'

Kāluvāki from this point of view can be analysed as *kaḷu*+*vāki*, the first element going with the Austro-Asiatic word *kaḷau*='a special kind of bird' (what this is we are not told by Skeat and Blagden) and the generic word for 'bird' or 'fowl' *puk*, *poḷ*, etc. (= *baka*, *vaḷa*).

This would be an explanation from the point of view of Austro-Asiatic. A non-Aryan name of a bird with a

sweet voice—this easily lent itself to confusion with Sanskrit *kāru* + \sqrt{vac} —*vāka*, *vāc*. A similar thing has happened in the case of other words—a foreign borrowing getting contaminated with native words or roots. The Indo-Aryan *kala* = 'sweet sounding < indistinct sounding,' of an unknown etymology, then had its way with the word, and gave rise to forms with *kāla* and *kara*. -*Viṭā* was the earlier form of the nasalised -*viṇkā*, the Sanskrit suffix -*ikā* being probably responsible for the modified form. Or -*viṭā* itself is an easy modification of *pūk*, *pok*, **bok*, *baṭa*, *vaṭa* = 'bird.' The Sanskrit word itself may have been, at least in the compound *kala-haṃsa*, of Austric origin = 'the goose *kala*,' just as **kālu-vāka* = 'the bird *kālu* or *kāla*.'

This derivation of *Kāluvāṭi* is based on the assumption of a connexion between *kalaviṇka*, etc., with this word, and by itself it will not have a great plausibility. But taking *krka-vāka*, *caṭra-vāka*, *Kāluvāṭi-kalaviṇka*, and *baṭa*, *vaṭa* all together, I think a case for an Austro-Asiatic word for 'fowl, bird' like **bok*, being present in these Sanskrit words, appears to be at least likely.

It may be questioned whether *Garuḍa*, the mythical eagle who became the vehicle of Viṣṇu (for whose name a fanciful derivation has been suggested in the Mahābhārata, showing that the word struck the Aryan speakers as foreign) is connected with *kālu* as in *Kāluvāṭi*—although Kittel and others suggested a more likely Dravidian affinity for it, e. g., Tamil *kaṣu*, *kaṣuk* 'vulture', 'eagle', and Kannaḍa *gariga* 'a kind of bird.'

[2]. Sanskrit *vaṭra*, Prakrit *vaṇka* 'crooked, bent,' New Indo-Aryan base *bāṭ*.

Vaṭra 'crooked' is derived from \sqrt{vak} , *vaṇk* 'to go, to roll,' which is connected with $\sqrt{vañc}$ to move to and fro, to go in a crooked way' etc. The form is found in the Atharva Veda. In the Middle Indo-Aryan, *vaṭra* > *vaṭṭa* > **vaṇka* takes up spontaneous nasalisation.

In Austro-Asiatic (Sakai) and Austronesian (Indonesian Malay) we have (Sakai—Skeat and Blagden, B 177) *paṭo*—

paḳo', *beng-kong* 'bowed', *bengko*, *hingko* 'curvature' = Malay *bengkoḥ*; (Sakai) *baḳondo*, *bongko* (*bonko*), *bungko* = Malay *bongkok* 'hunchbacked.'

The Austric word or words may have influenced the Prakrit form by nasalising it, and so we have *vaṇṇa* instead of *vaḳka*. In Bengali we have the word *bāṇḱuro* = 'short, hunchbacked,' which may be preserving an echo of the Austric word.

[3] The late Sanskrit *lampa* 'a leap, a spring, a jump' = Bengali (W. Bengali) *lāph*, 'leap,' Nepali *lāppā* = 'wrestling.'

The word is of doubtful etymology. The Śabda-kalpadruma traces it to a \sqrt{ranph} , which is otherwise unknown. Monier Williams compares it with *jhampā*, 'jump,' equally unexplained.

We can compare Malay *lompat* = 'to leap,' Sakai *ya'lumped*, *ya-lomped*, *lompat*°, *lampi* 'to jump.'

[4] Sanskrit *ḱacchū*, Bengali *ḱhos* < **ḱhaus* 'scab, itch.' The word is found in *Suśruta*.

Cf. Sakai forms *gā*, *gās*, *gās*, *gai*°, *ḱosh*, *chě-ḱos*, *gas manuḱ* = 'ring-worm, itch'; *duul-gash* 'bad with the itch'; Bahnar *gach*, *gai* = 'scab affecting young cattle'.

[5] Late Sanskrit *ḱumbhīra-maḱṣikā* 'a kind of fly' (Vepa solitaria), Bengali *ḱumirkā*, *ḱumiriyā poḱā* 'a kind of beetle which gathers mud for a nest to lay eggs in.'

Cf. (B 143) Sakai *ḱēmor*, *ḱēmūr*, *ḱemar* 'insect,' *ḱemuan*, *ḱemot*° 'white ant,' *ḱēmai*, *ḱamai* 'worm'; Khmer *ḱhmor* (*ḱhmur*) 'black winged insect which gnaws wood,' Bahnar *ḱōmōt* 'moth,' Stieng *ḱōmiet* 'maggot,' Mon *thmā* 'beetle,' *ḱhūmhū*, *chāmā*, *chmā* 'insect,' Bahnar *śamot* 'bug,' Achinese *ḱamuwe* 'white ant.'

Sources of the Art of Śrī-Vijaya

By Devaprasad Ghosh

Recent explorations in Sumatra, generally held to be the seat of the ancient Indianized empire of Śrī-Vijaya, have yielded a surprising variety of antiquarian remains. They are naturally attracting the attention of scholars interested in Indonesian art and archaeology. Dr. Krom contributed a very interesting paper¹ on these finds and I tried to support and supplement his observations in this connection.² Prof. R. C. Majumdar has lately disagreed "with some of the most important conclusions arrived at in these papers."³

Prof. Majumdar, for instance, thinks it premature to conclude definitely that the enormous torso of a stone Buddha image discovered in Palembang belongs to the Amarāvati school which was palpably influenced by the Hellenistic technique of Gandhāra, e.g., in the treatment of the drapery. Of course our conclusion was mainly based on a study of the characteristic feature of the drapery "showing prominent folds." Prof. Majumdar is "tolerably certain that the art of Śrī-Vijaya was the product of Gupta art." "If we remember," he proceeds, "that the colossal copper statue of Buddha at Sultangunj in Bhagalpur district shows distinct folding lines of drapery,"⁴ we need have no difficulty in referring both the stone torso and the bronze images of Palembang to Gupta art."⁵

1 N. J. Krom, *Antiquities of Palembang*, *Ann. Bibl. of Ind. Arch.*, 1931, pp. 29-33.

2 D. P. Ghosh, *Early Art of Śrī-Vijaya JGIS.*, Vol. I, No. I, pp. 31-38.

3 R. C. Majumdar, *Origin of the Art of Śrī-Vijaya*, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, June, 1935, pp. 75-78.

4 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 160.

5 R. C. Majumdar, *l. c.*, p. 76.

But any one who compares the Palembang and Sultanganj Buddhas, will, I feel sure, be convinced that it is difficult to conceive of two Buddhas figures more unlike each other.

We admit that some of the sculptures of Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā, why even some of the earlier sculptures too, have fold-lines on their drapery and "they are certainly not attributable to Gandhāra influence." Still we must distinguish between the folds of different schools of art. The Hellenistic folds of Gandhāra, whether natural or schematic, have a volume of their own which seeks to hide and obscure the body underneath, sometimes completely. Typical Indian folds, on the other hand, associated with the "wet drapery" treatment whether indicated by mere incised lines on a flat surface or by distinct ridges running in parallel curves, cling tightly to the flesh. So they allow ample scope for the tapering contour of the limbs to be fully revealed in all their soft rounded smoothness. The two different styles can be studied, side by side, in the early Mathurā sculptures. A mere glance at the Sultanganj Buddha folds will suffice to demonstrate that they are scarcely real folds at all in the Western sense of the term. They are nothing but few sweeping incised parallel curves lightly scratched on the transparent drapery which instead of covering the body emphasise the naked glory of a clearly accentuated form.

The Palembang Buddha⁶ betrays the Amarāvati technique in several unquestioning ways. If we scrutinise the treatment of the dress it will be found that broad heavy folds of the robe, covering both the shoulders, reach down to the feet in a regular succession of closely parallel semi-circular waves, each fold demarcated by a sharp edge or crest. The ultimate effect of the almost opaque sheet of drapery, with its prominently displayed fold lines, undoubtedly reminiscent of Gandhāra, is to obstruct a full visual appreciation of the delicate rendering of the details of the body. But the consideration of the folds is certainly not the only characteristic

6 *Annual Bibliography*, 1931, pl. XI, a-b; *JGIS.*, Vol. I, No. I, pl. I, a.

feature which led us to ascribe the image to the Amarāvati school. It is also noteworthy that the broad heavy and almost flat rendering of the massive body, accompanied by a sense of rigidity and stiffness reflected in the erect frontal pose, vertically upraised hem and straight hanging pleats of the garment (note specially the sharp precise treatment of the back)⁷ indicate the characteristic Amarāvati style.⁸ The presence of the above features as well as the absence of the peculiarly trough-like formation of the lower portion of the apparel of all the standing Gupta Buddhas of *Madhyadeśa*, created by the arms holding the *Sanghātī* a little away from the body, renders the question of the Palembang Buddha image ever being inspired by the classical Gupta art-ideals of Sārnāth or Mathurā extremely problematical. In this connection too, we cannot lightly brush aside the fact that the earliest sculptures representing Buddha figures, discovered in Burma, Siam, Campā, Fu-nan, Java and Celebes, all belong to the Amarāvati school.⁹ Is it not natural, then, to seek traces of artistic ideals of that particular centre on admittedly the earliest find of Śrī-Vijaya?

At this point we should like to make some observations on the theory recently put forward by Dr. Bachhofer in the pages of this Journal. He is of opinion "that Northern, Western and Southern India represent the Buddha in different attitudes and differently clad" and that "from about 150 A.D. a free-standing Buddha in Southern India invariably has his right shoulder and arm bare, and carried his *Sanghātī* in the manner described above."¹⁰ But we have reasons to believe that this mode did not meet with "unchecked approval in Amarāvati." Instances showing the Buddha with both shoulders covered are not rare in Amarāvati in the 2nd century A.D.¹¹ Our stone Buddha

7 *Annual Bibliography*, 1931, pl. XI, b.

8 Coomaraswamy, l. c., figs. 137, 141.

9 *JGIS.*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 123; *Calcutta Review*, February, 1931, pp. 224-26.

10 *JGIS.*, *ibid.*, p. 124.

11 Coomaraswamy, l. c., figs. 137, 141.

image from Palembang also points to the contrary. Dr. Bachhofer's view that the Buddha continued to be presented only with covered shoulders and arms in Northern India is also to be accepted with some reservation. For, there are some examples, at least, where the standing Buddha in Northern India, is shown with the right shoulder and arm bare, the robe closely drawn to the right side of the body and hanging down loosely from the extended left fore-arm in the so-called Western and South Indian fashion.¹²

Now we come to the bronze figures of Palembang. Here Dr. Majumdar seems to have misunderstood me. My argument for correlating some of these bronze figures to the Pāla art of Eastern India is based upon the study of the sitting bronze image of Maitreya¹³ and not of the bronze image of the standing Buddha, which has obvious Gupta affinities. It still appears to me that the characteristic features of the Maitreya, viz., the peculiar *Jaṭāmukuta*, a marked advance in the ornamental aspect, the undulating lines of the *Uttariya* running across the breast, the fine *Upavīta* dangling loosely along the left side of the torso, the nature of the jewellery and particularly the bowl-like double curves of waistline are seldom found in "what we are accustomed to call the Gupta style in Sārnāth and other parts of Northern India prior to the seventh or eighth century A.D."¹⁴ That these elements are peculiar to Post-Gupta art will be evident from a study of some of the bronze Bodhisattva figures lately recovered from Kurkihar, Bihar belonging to the Pāla period.¹⁵ Under the circumstances it is difficult to agree with the view of Prof. Majumdar and Dr. Bernet-Kempers that none of the bronze images from Palembang betrays any Pāla feature and that the art of Śrī-Vijaya was a product only of Gupta art. Even if we "get rid of the prevailing conception that Śrī-Vijaya and Java were

12 *JISOA.*, December, 1934, pl. XXIX, 1.

13 *Annual Bibliography*, 1931, pl. X, c; *JGIS.*, II/2, pl. II, 4.

14 *JISOA.*, June, 1935, p. 76.

15 *Ibid.*, December, 1934, pls. XXXIV, 4 and XXVIII, 2.

closely connected by the political authority of the Śailendras" and admit the correctness of Prof. Majumdar's recent theory supported by Coedès "that there are no reasonable grounds to affirm that before the 11th century the kings of Śrī-Vijaya belonged to the Śailendra dynasty or that they reigned at Śrī-Vijaya"¹⁶, we see no insuperable difficulty in recognising the influence of Pāla art or of the magnificent Śailendra art of its powerful Javanese neighbour upon the art of Śrī-Vijaya.

Regarding the difference of opinion between Prof. Majumdar and myself about the little bronze Buddha head from Palembang,¹⁷ I cannot but still adhere to the view that in the absence of better and more illuminating specimens, the bronze Buddha heads from Buddhapād near Bezwada, discovered by Sewell, offer the nearest clue to its origin. Its Southern Indian kinship is suggested by a comparison with the head of the standing bronze Buddha from S. Djember, Java.

To Prof. Majumdar, my "view about the stone image of Avalokiteśvara"¹⁸ is also hardly convincing." He is inclined to see certain definite traits of Gupta art in it, too, although he has, unfortunately for us, failed to indicate those particular traits. In the absence, however, of any precise reference to the prototypes of this image which according to him "are met with in so distant localities as Kalinga and Kaṇheri,"¹⁹ it is difficult to share his views. If we take into account the severe treatment, flat summary modelling, omission of all minor details and smooth immobile mass of the figure of Avalokiteśvara, it seems to illustrate the Śrī-vijaya interpretation of a Pallava icon, apparently modified by some Javanese intrusions as suggested by Krom.²⁰

16 *Ibid.*, June, 1935, p. 76.

17 *Annual Bibliography*, 1931, pl. X a and b; *JGIS.*, *loc. cit.*, pl. II, 2, 3.

18 *Ibid.*, pl. XII, d; *JGIS.*, *loc. cit.*, pl. I, 1.

19 *JISOA.*, *ibid.*, p. 77.

20 *Annual Bibliography*, 1931, p. 33.

It is stated that Krom and Bosch hold the view "that Southern India exercised no influence of any importance on the art of Śrī-Vijaya."²¹ It is, however, significant that the recent interesting finds, of three stone Śaiva images at Takuapa in the northern part of Malay Peninsula, "though evidently made in the Peninsula, are fairly close to the Pallava style of South India and appear to date from the 7th or 8th century." Dr. Quaritch Wales, who explored the region so admirably last year, rightly guesses that there is some resemblance of these sculptures to the Gaṅgādhara group at Trichinopoly.²² Such evidence of predominance of Pallava art traditions in some of the earliest remains of the northern province of the Śrī-Vijaya empire (*vide* Ligor inscription of 775 A.D.) may prove helpful in the reconstruction of the early art of Śrī-Vijaya.²³

Only two definite periods may, according to Prof. Majumdar, be postulated in the Indo-Javanese and Indo-Sumatran art-traditions. "First, the earlier period during which the Gupta influence was dominant, and secondly, the later period, when as a result of intimate contact between the Śailendras and the Pālas, the Pāla traditions gradually made their influence felt."²⁴ My contention is that two other forces, besides the above, both connected with South India, should be reckoned in considering the formative stages of the evolution of Indonesian art, *viz.*, (1) the Āndhra-Ikṣvāku element which certainly was the earliest to operate,²⁵ followed by (2) the Pallava-Cālukya factor whose action is perceptible almost simultaneously with the Gupta idiom. Broadly speaking, Indo-Javanese and Indo-Sumatran art passed through the same phases as the art of *India as a whole* and

21 JISOA., *ibid.*, p. 77.

22 H. G. Q. Wales, *A Newly-Explored Route of Ancient Indian Cultural Expansion in Indian Arts and Letters*, Vol. IX, No. 1, p. 15, pl. IV, 24.

23 To my mind the S. Indian component is not negligible in the Javanese primitives too.

24 JISOA., p. 76.

25 Coomaraswamy, *l. c.*, p. 157.

not only of "*Eastern India*" as Prof. Majumdar would like to put it.²⁶

It is not our intention to minimise, in any way, the influence of Gupta art upon the early art of Śrī-Vijaya. Its profound impression upon the aesthetic achievements of Indonesia and Further India is both indelible and undeniable. But in our opinion it was merely one of the outstanding forces and not the only or even the earliest one to mould the art of Śrī-Vijaya. Further discoveries are required to illuminate this complex but fascinating problem of Greater Indian studies.

26 *JISOA.*, p. 77.

The Kāliṅga Dynasty of Ceylon

By S. Paranavitana.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when Polonnaruwa was the seat of government in Ceylon, there were several kings, in this island, who claimed to belong to the Kāliṅga royal family. A short account of these rulers might be of some interest to the readers of this Journal.

From the earliest times, there seems to have been intercourse between Kāliṅga and Ceylon. The ancestry of Vijaya, the first king of Ceylon, is traced¹, on the one hand, to the Kṣatriyas of Vaṅga and, on the other, to the then ruling house of Kāliṅga; but we do not know how much of really historical matter there is in the legends connected with the colonisation of the island by the North Indian Aryans. In the fourth century, the Tooth Relic of the Buddha was brought to Ceylon from Dantapura in Kāliṅga;² and, at the beginning of the seventh century, a king of Kāliṅga, defeated by his enemies in warfare, is said to have taken refuge in a Buddhist monastery of this island.³ The Sinhalese king Mahinda IV (954-970 A.D.) married a princess from Kāliṅga and she bore him a son who succeeded him on the throne.⁴ The last king of Anurādhapura, Mahinda V (981-1017 A.D.) seems to claim, in the only inscription that can be attributed to him,⁵ to have been a scion of the Kāliṅga family. He, too, was a son of Mahinda IV and it seems probable that his mother was the Kāliṅga princess and that his right to be called a member of the Kāliṅga family was through his mother.⁶

1 *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. 6, vv. 1-2.

2 *Ibid.*, Chap. 37, vv. 92-98.

3 *Ibid.*, Chap. 42, vv. 44-47.

4 *Ibid.*, Chap. 54, vv. 9 and 57.

5 *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 59 ff.

6 *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, Vol. II, pp. 238-239.

These connections with Kāliṅga, however, did not have much influence on the subsequent course of the political history of the island. And it was the matrimonial alliance which Vijayabāhu I (1058-1114) contracted with the royal house of Kāliṅga that led to princes of that country seating themselves on the Sinhalese throne. Vijayabāhu's marriage with a princess of Kāliṅga seems to have been dictated by political considerations. It was this prince who freed Ceylon from the domination of the Colas who held sway over the greater part of the island for more than half a century before his accession. The Cola ruler of the time, Kulottuṅga, I, was naturally inimical to Vijayabāhu. Kāliṅga, too, was invaded by the forces of Kulottuṅga and the common enmity towards the Colas seems to have drawn together the Sinhalese and the people of Kāliṅga, resulting in the espousal by Vijayabāhu of a princess of that country, named Tilokasundarī.⁷ Three kinsmen of this princess, named Madhukaṇṇava, Bhīmarāja and Balakkāra, are said to have come and settled down in Ceylon. The younger sister of these three princes, named Sundarī, became the consort of Vikramabāhu, the son of Vijayabāhu and Tilokasundarī.⁸ 'Madhukaṇṇava' reminds us of 'Madhu-kāmārṇava', a name borne by some of the princes of the Gāṅga dynasty of Kāliṅga, and it is possible that the princess who became Vijayabāhu's queen was of that royal stock.

Vikramabāhu (1116-1137), the son of Vijayabāhu, as has been stated, had a Kāliṅga princess as his consort. This princess, named Sundarī or Sundaramahādevī, has left an inscription in a cave at a place called Dimbulāgala (Udumbaragiri). In it she records that she effected some repairs to the cave and had it named, after the land of her birth, Kalingu-laṇa 'The Kāliṅga Cave.'⁹ The son of Vikramabāhu and Sundaramahādevī was Gajabāhu II, (1137-1153), who is said, in the *Mahāvamsa*, to have been a scion of the Kāliṅga royal family. His claim to that lineage must have

7 *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. 59, vv. 29-30.

8 *Ibid.*, Chap. 59, vv. 46-49.

9 *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 195-196.

been through his mother and grand-mother and, incidentally, proves that at this time the Sinhalese kings traced their descent on the mother's side.¹⁰ Gajabāhu II does not seem to have had any sons of his own and he is said to have invited to his court foreign princes of a different faith, probably intending one of them to succeed him on the throne.¹¹ It seems probable that these princes were from Kāliṅga and belonged to the Gaṅga family. For one of the princes of Gajabāhu's court is said, in the chronicle, to have been named Coḍagaṅga,¹² and this is a name which was common among the Gaṅgas of Kāliṅga. Thus, towards the end of Gajabāhu's reign, it appeared as if the throne of Ceylon would pass to princes from Kāliṅga. But this was not yet to be. Gajabāhu's partiality towards princes of foreign origin made his cousin Parākramabāhu, the virtually independent ruler of a small principality in the island, proclaim war against him. Gajabāhu was defeated and made Parākramabāhu his heir. Thus the Kāliṅga influence in the island received a temporary set-back.

Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186) had no son to succeed him and, as the other princes of the royal family had all been exterminated in the civil wars which preceded his accession, he found, towards the end of his reign, that there was no suitable prince in Ceylon to succeed him. He, therefore, invited a prince from Kāliṅga, named Vijayabāhu, who was a nephew of his, and brought him up in his palace. This prince succeeded Parākramabāhu as Vijayabāhu II; but he seems to have been unpopular, for on the day following his accession there was a serious revolt against him. This was quelled by a chieftain named Vijayā, but Vijayabāhu II came to a tragic end an year after, owing to a love intrigue with the daughter of a cowherd. In an inscription of Vijayabāhu II, found at Polonnaruva,¹³ in which he records

10 *Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G*, Vol. II, pp. 235-236.

11 *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. 70, vv. 53-54.

12 *Ibid.*, Chap. 70, v. 238.

13 *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 179-184. This record is our main source of information for the reign of Vijayabāhu II.

the grants bestowed on the chieftain who was loyal to him in the rebellion already mentioned, he thus recounts the circumstances in which he came to occupy the Sinhalese throne: 'His Majesty king Siṃha-bāhu was born of the Kāliṅga-Cakravarti family of the illustrious and very (proud Siṃha race). His eldest son, king Vijaya, came to Laṅkā from the Kāliṅga country, destroyed the yakṣas, and making the island habitable for men ruled it under one canopy of dominion. From his lineage was descended His Majesty Parākramabāhu, the lord of the soil, who also brought the island under his single sovereignty. This king desiring the continuance of his dynasty in the future, sent emissaries to Siṃhapura as previous kings had done, and had his *bāna* (nephew) brought over to Ceylon. Without delay he had the prince invested with royal rank and brought him up, making him skilful in the science of arms. Parākramabāhu, having thus made the kingdom possessed of a future ruler, attained to heaven in course of time. Then, in accordance with his wishes Vijayabāhu was anointed king.'¹⁴

Vijayabāhu II was succeeded by another prince, from Kāliṅga, named Niśsaṃka Malla (1187-1196). He was subking in the reign of Vijayabāhu II but his relationship to the latter is not known. In one of his inscriptions Niśsaṃka Malla states that he was invited by the great king of the island of Laṅkā, his senior kinsman, and came over to this country.¹⁵ The reference here is most probably to Vijayabāhu II.

Niśsaṃka Malla, referred to in his inscriptions by the fulsome epithets of Siri-Saṅgabo Kāliṅga Parākramabāhu Virarāja Niśsaṃka Malla Apratimalla, was not only the greatest of the Kāliṅga kings who ruled in Ceylon, but was also one of the most notable among the long line of the island's rulers. He is dismissed with only a scanty notice in the *Mahāvamsa*—only nine verses (chap. 80, vv. 18-26) being devoted to him in that chronicle—but, as if to

¹⁴ *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Ibid., pp. 183-184.

¹⁵ *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 115.

make up for this neglect of the chroniclers, Niśsaṃka Malla has left a large number of inscriptions¹⁶ in various parts of the island. In fact, no other king of Ceylon can even approach Niśsaṃka Malla in this respect. His inscriptions also give us the main events of his brief reign of nine years. Within this short period he accomplished a great deal. A large number of the monuments, religious as well as secular, which we see today at Polonnaruwa owe their origin to Niśsaṃka Malla. He toured the whole country several times, introducing reforms, and giving munificent largesses to the people. He was a great patron of Buddhism and, besides building monasteries and shrines, tried to remove the corrupt practices which had crept into the *saṅgha*. He claims to have undertaken a successful expedition to South India and that this claim is not a mere boast is proved by the discovery of an inscription of his at Rāmesvaram.¹⁷ He opened roads, repaired irrigation works and introduced reforms into the administrative system. He was tolerant in his religious beliefs and patronised Brāhmaṇas as well as Buddhist monks.

Niśsaṃka Malla was a very vain-glorious prince and was never wearied of recounting the greatness of himself, his family and the achievements of his, magnified to a much greater extent than they actually were. But in this he seems to have had a purpose. He wanted to impress on his people the wisdom of continuing the sovereignty of the island in the Kāliṅga dynasty. For this purpose, he reiterates the fact that he and his dynasty hailed from Siṃhapura in Kāliṅga which he identifies with Siṃhapura, the home of Vijaya, the first king of Ceylon, in spite of the fact that the latter, according to the legends, was in Lāṭa and not in Kāliṅga. He emphasises the connection of Kāliṅga with the Vijayan legend and thus tries to make out that the sovereignty of Ceylon legitimately belonged to members of the Kāliṅga

16 *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 70-178, contains a number of inscriptions of this king. The information given in this paper about the king has been culled mainly from these records.

17 *Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G*, Vol. II, p. 105.

dynasty. He inveighs against the members of the Govi-vamśa, the aristocratic clan of the Sinhalese, lays down that on no account should any one of them be elected as king and exhorts his people not to raise to the throne of Laṅkā princes from the Cola or the Pāṇḍya country, who were not Buddhists.

Niśśaṃka Malla, in his inscriptions, tells us of his birth and parentage. He was born in Siṃhapura in Kāliṅga and his parents were Jayagopa-rāja and Pārvatimahādevī. His chief queen was named Kāliṅga Subhadrā and the second queen was Kalyāṇa-mahādevī of the Gaṅga family. Niśśaṃka Malla was very fond of flaunting his Kāliṅga origin. In his coins, the legend reads, *Kāliṅga Laṃkeja(śa)*.¹⁸ Polonnaruva was named Kāliṅga-pura by him, and there were parks called Kāliṅgodyāna and Kāliṅgavana in that city.

So far as is known to me, there is no reference in Indian documents to Niśśaṃka Malla or any other member of his family. But Siṃhapura, their place of origin, is mentioned in copper-plate grants of the kings of Orissa. The Bṛihat-proshtha grant of Umāvarman, the lord of Kāliṅga, was issued from Siṃhapura.¹⁹ Perhaps, Niśśaṃka Malla and other Kāliṅga princes who ruled Ceylon did not belong to the ruling house of Orissa, but the fact that one of Niśśaṃka Malla's queens was of the Gaṅga family suggests that he was related to that dynasty which at that time possessed the sovereignty of Kāliṅga.

Niśśaṃka Malla's death was followed by a period of great confusion. His son, Virabāhu, was murdered on the very day of his accession and the throne was given to Niśśaṃka Malla's younger brother, Vikramabāhu, who was allowed to hold the sceptre for three months only. He was ousted by Coḍagaṅga, a nephew of Niśśaṃka Malla. Coḍagaṅga himself came to a sad end, for, nine months after his accession, his eyes were put out by one of his gene-

18 Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 68.

19 *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. XII, p. 6.

rals and the throne was occupied for three years by Lilāvati, queen of Parākramabāhu. At the end of this period another Kāliṅga prince, by name Sāhasamalla, ruled at Polonnaruva.²⁰ From an inscription of this monarch found at Polonnaruva,²¹ we learn that Sāhasamalla was a half-brother of Niśśaṃka Malla, his mother being Loka-mahādevī, and that he himself was born at Simhapura. In the confusion which prevailed after Niśśaṃka Malla's death, two Sinhalese dignitaries sent an envoy named Mallikārjuna to the Kāliṅga country and invited Sāhasamalla to Ceylon. He accepted the invitation, but before his partisans could arrange matters to give him a favourable reception, he had to spend two years at a sea-port named Kaṅgakoṇḍa (Gaṅgai-koṇḍa) in the Cola country. Ultimately, Sāhasamalla arrived safely in Ceylon and was anointed king on Wednesday, the 23rd of August, 1200 A.D.

Sāhasamalla's reign was also a brief one. He had to yield his place in favour of Kalyāṇavati, the queen of Niśśaṃka Malla, who could remain on the throne for six years—a creditable performance for that period in Ceylon. During the next six years, there were no less than seven revolutions accompanied, more often than not, by violence and murder. One of the princes who occupied the throne for seventeen days in 1209 A.D., during this troubled period, was Anikaṅga, and he appears, from his name, to have been of Kāliṅga origin. In the following year, a prince named Lokeśvara ruled for nine months and, from an inscription which he has left,²² it is known that he belonged to the Kāliṅga dynasty; but we do not know what his relation to his predecessors was.

The last Kāliṅga prince to rule in Ceylon was Māgha, who, in 1213 A.D., invaded the island with an army of mercenaries from South India, put to death Parākrama Paṇḍu

20 For Niśśaṃka Malla's successors, see *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. 80, vv. 27 ff.

21 *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 219-229.

22 *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 83-88.

who was then king at Polonnaruva, and started a veritable reign of terror which lasted for twenty-one years. Māgha was a great contrast to Niśśaṃka Malla. While Niśśaṃka Malla tried to establish his dynasty in Ceylon by methods of conciliation and propaganda, Māgha tried to do so by stark terrorism. He was such a cruel oppressor that the chroniclers have pictured him as a scourge sent by heaven to punish the people of Ceylon for their sins. He ravaged the northern part of the island, which was under his rule, so efficiently that when at last a Sinhalese prince was able to rout him and send his forces back to India, the districts around Anuradhapura and Polonnaruva, which were the most flourishing in Ceylon for a millennium and half, were in such a state of desolation that the political centre of gravity was shifted southwards. These districts never recovered from the effects of Māgha's oppression.

A Date of Īśānavarman II: The Inscription of Tuol Kul (Province of Mông, Cambodia)

By Dr. George Qœdès

We possess very few inscriptions of the two sons of Yaśovarman who are known only from the inscriptions of their successors.

Of his eldest son Harṣavarman I, we have :

(1) The inscription of Vāt Čakret.¹ The donation mentioned in the Sanskrit text is not dated and there is nothing to show that the date 834 Śaka, with which begins the very mutilated Khmèr text, refers to the same object.²

(2) The inscription of Tûol Pei of 844 Śaka; if, however, the king mentioned immediately after the date is Harṣavarman which is not absolutely certain.³

Of the younger son Īśānavarman II, we have not yet found any inscription. Of the contemporary texts of his reign we have only the first inscription of Vāt Thipdēi emanating from Śikhāśiva, *ācārya* in the service of Yaśovarman and his two sons.⁴ It mentions a foundation made by this savant in 832 Śaka, but this date does not necessarily fall within the reign of the last king mentioned in the text, i.e., of Īśānavarman II. In fact it is followed by the mention of two other foundations, which are perhaps later and the inscription might have been engraved several years after 832 Śaka. These meagre data do not permit us to establish the chronology of the reigns of Harṣavarman I and Īśānavarman II.

An inscription found in July 1935 at Tûol Kûl in the province of Mông furnishes us a precise date for the reign

1 *Inv. des ins. du Cambodge*, K. 61, cf. *ISCC.*, LXIII.

2 Aymonier, *Cambodge*, I, p. 237.

3 *BEFEO.*, XXXI, p. 17.

4 *Mémoires de S. Lévi*, p. 214.

that the Kaurawas will attain to kingship after a time of severe penance, and that the Pāṇḍawas will be brought down to the state of *caṇḍālas*.

With the support of Nārada whom Bṛhaspati had despatched to the earth for this special purpose, Wyāsa brings the Kaurawas and their army back to life. When this has been accomplished, Bhīṣma—in accordance with a heavenly voice—advises the newly revived Kaurawas to proceed to Rāmaparaśu² for the purpose of being instructed by him. Wyāsa benefits them by his views on the practice of *tapas*. The Pāṇḍawas are likewise advised by Wyāsa regarding the government they will exercise and finally Wyāsa returns to his *āśrama*.

King Dhṛtarāṣṭra begs Yudhiṣṭhira to teach him and is instructed by him in a variety of subjects regarding mythology, cosmology, asceticism, etc. Subsequently Dhṛtarāṣṭra visits Rāmaparaśu after which he devotes himself to *tapas* and *yoga*, following therein his brother Pāṇḍu's example.

As has been stated above the Kaurawas likewise visit Rāmaparaśu. He answers Duryodhana's and Karṇa's questions, which are of the same kind as those of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and he assigns to everyone of them a place wherein to do penance. Duryodhana, Śakuni, Bhagadatta, Duḥśāsana and Karṇa—the last one after some further instruction regarding the *swarga* and *pātāla*—all endeavour to win the favour of the gods of the four regions and the centre, *viz.*, Brahmā, Mahādewa, Viṣṇu, Śiwa and Āditya,³ with the purpose of obtaining their permission to destroy the Pāṇḍawas.

The answer they receive is essentially the same in every case. In one case it runs like this: "You ask permission to kill the Pāṇḍawas? But it is impossible that the Pāṇḍavas should die, for they are like gods. They are the *lingga* and the *praśasti* of men. They constitute the standard⁴

2 This reversion of Skr. Paraśurāma occurs invariably in the Korawāśrama.

3 Cf. the classification given below in the summary.

4 This must be the meaning. The text has *tatali*, from Javanese *tali*, *i.e.*, string.

regulating the judge's verdict. For the Pāṇḍawas almost represent the body of mankind: Yudhiṣṭhira stands for the soul (*ātman*) of mankind, Bhīma stands for the breath of mankind, Arjuna stands for the shape (*rūpa*) of mankind, Nakula stands for the *sanggama*(?) of mankind, Sahadewa stands for the longevity of mankind. The Kaurawas on the other hand are the *aḥaṃkāra* of humanity. They stand for opulence, gold, jewels, cattle, food and great prosperity. It is beyond your power to kill the Pāṇḍawas. But I allow you to degrade them later on to the stage of *aṣṭaçaṇḍāla*."

This for instance is the answer received by Karna who then turns to Duryodhana and begins a conversation which, however, is cut short by the Korawāśrama abruptly ending at this juncture.

Consequently, this peculiar "sequel" to the Mahābhārata, depicts the Pāṇḍawas and Kaurawas as two rival groups of persons, who are cousins to each other and who live in a constant struggle as contending forces, keeping each other in balance. Both may be said to represent parts of the cosmos. "They are the world's contents" as the MS. has it somewhere. Moreover they represent certain parts of man and some aspects of human society, as was brought out quite definitely in the above quotation. Both are indispensable to each other—"the Pāṇḍawas are the life of the Kaurawas....." and to the existence of the world and "without the Kaurawas the world is unsteady.....". A controversial relationship between two groups of beings as described above is well known in Ethnology and is termed a phratry-contrast. Pigeaud⁵ pointed out already that this contrast reminds one of the bipartition which is one of the fundamental facts of the Javanese Wayang.⁶ As a matter of fact there is a strong resemblance between many of the

5 O.c., p. 330.

6 Dramatic performance in which the actors are puppets whose shadows are projected on a screen.

7 Cf. Dr. W. H. Rassers, *Over de zin van het Javaansche drama* (concerning the meaning of the Jav. drama), *Bijdr. Kon. Instituut* 81 (1925), pp. 312-14.

characteristics of the Wayang-tales' and the "canvas"-story of the Korawāśrama, which might tempt one to assign an Indonesian origin to a "sequel" to the Mahābhārata similar to that contained in the Korawāśrama.

Such a hypothesis, however, would be premature and for the following reason:

Held⁸ has rendered it probable that the Indian Mahābhārata likewise contains the basic notion of the phratry-contrast. In his opinion this explains why the balance between the Pāṇḍawas and the Kaurawas is so rigorously and constantly maintained. To quote his own words: "A phratry-relationship is characterized by the curious hostile friendship of the two parties. As a rule one phratry is superior to the other, but this superiority is not openly acknowledged by the other without anything more. The poet, having extolled one party above the other in one sentence, hastens to add in another that this superiority is neither unquestioned nor unconditioned for all that."⁹ The *dyūta*, the great strife, the conclusion of the Mahābhārata, provide us with numerous details in support of Held's views.

The data found in the Korawāśrama perfectly fit in with Held's presentation. The death of the Kaurawas had destroyed the balance in favour of the Pāṇḍawas. Consequently the Kaurawas had to be resurrected. The victory of the Pāṇḍawas dealt unfairly by the Kaurawas. Consequently they will have to rule again and the Pāṇḍawas will have to be humiliated. But they cannot die; the utmost to which their suffering may extend is their becoming *caṇḍālas*. Consequently a "sequel" to the Mahābhārata of this kind fits in just as well into the Sanskrit epos as into the Javanese Wayang-stories.

Moreover, according to Stutterheim,¹⁰ the Javanese and Malay tales belonging to the Rāmāyaṇa-cycle show aberrations from Wālmiki's epos which are by no means limited

8 G. J. Held, *The Mahābhārata, an ethnological study*.

9 Held, *o.c.*, p. 300.

10 W. Stutterheim, *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, pp. 81-101.

to Indonesian literatures. In the Purāṇas, the Sanskrit dramas and in vernacular literature he collected a number of interesting parallels to the Indonesian versions.

All this ought to convince us that it is impossible to decide for the moment whether the subject-matter of the Korawāśrama originated in Indonesia or whether it came from India like so many other tales. Both views have something to recommend them, but no decision can be hoped for unless some tale of known Indian or Indonesian origin is found which can be accepted as the prototype of the Korawāśrama.

Now as far as I know there are two tales which might be regarded as such prototypes. One is the Putradarśana-parwan.¹¹ But this tale cannot help us out of the difficulty. The discrepancies between this episode—the vision of one night—and the Korawāśrama are too great and the points of resemblance too insignificant to be of any real use in tracing the origin of the latter. The other one is an episode in the previous history of the heroes as related in the Malay Pāṇḍawa-tales.¹² This might be compared with the description of the resurrection of the Kaurawas in the beginning of the Korawāśrama. But the persons dealt with are not the Kaurawas and the subsequent course of events is entirely different. As a consequence it is impossible to trace any definite relationship between the Korawāśrama and either of these two tales.

This leads me to the query which caused me to write this article. With a view to a commented edition of the Korawāśrama, which I hope to publish in the near future, it would be of the greatest help to me to be made aware of any work—in Sanskrit or in vernacular—comparable with the Korawāśrama. I am not in a position to go into this particular matter myself and so I solicit the help of any authority happening to read this paper in order to obtain an answer to the following questions :

11 *Mahābhārata*, XV, 31-33.

12 Cf. H.N. v.d. Tuuk, *Geschiedenis der Pāṇḍawas*, in T. B. G. XXI (1875), p. 17.

buddi mahidewatmajam, keśawam śoritañāyam//
 adurggañcam pariwijam. śatakr̥tu dakṣapanam/
 petradipam anggarañcah, padmayonam yakṣadipam//
 indram wiṣṇu padmanābhām, rudrakañcam mahadewam/
 gurukañca haśrikaṇḍam, brahma saneścaram paham//
 ganāñcam sadwarakaṇḍah, śatakr̥tu sacapatam/
 umampatiñcah sedkaṇḍah, sadwaram yama rudrañcah//
 maḍuram wara hewañcah, kosikam ṛṣi hewañcah//
 hawaram catur śrijayam, lokampalam wari śriñcam//

Wyāsa is called the manggala of the composer of the Korawāsrāma and the "Dwidaśaprawa"(?). Then the text says: "As follows the holy paṇḍita relates the Śwaraśati-purāṇa" (=Saraswatipurāṇa ?). Being told by Kṛpa that his sons are dead and their army annihilated, king Dhṛtarāṣṭra answers that he wishes to go and live as a hermit, just as has done his brother Pāṇḍu. Kṛpa says that he should take advice from Dharmawangśa, for the Pāṇḍawas are sons of the gods:

petradipam tanayañcah, hāsamirañātanayam/
 sacipati sutanayam, asno¹⁷.....kama jayañcam//

The king agrees and Kṛpa goes to Indraprastha. He asks Yudhiṣṭhira to revive the Kaurawas by his power and to teach the king how to practise *tapas* and *yoga*. The answer is that only Wyāsa is able to revive the Kaurawas, for his power is extraordinarily great. He is worshipped by Yudhiṣṭhira in this *mantra*:

om, namaste hyang hyang byaswayam, om,

suraśūra namaskṛtam/
 śūnyabhoham matititam, om, namaste śri dewayanam//

Upon this invocation Wyāsa descends from heaven. Before he is told anything he knows already what they wish him to do. He explains the origin of both the Pāṇḍawas and Kaurawas—in the same way as is done in the Sanskrit MBh.—in a paraphrase of the following *śloka*:

kumbaswara korawamśaṇca, gaṇḍaricam saṭanenam/
 kali kalaṁkampuwañca, ṛṣim pañca pāṇḍawenam//

17 *Asno*=*Skṛ. Aświnau*; Nakula and Sahadewa always are called here the sons of "*Asno*" and *Asmara* (=Kāma of the *śloka*).

The Kaurawas will be revived for the world's order would be upset without them: Kaurawas and Pāṇḍawas are the contents of the world; after a time of *tapas* and *yoga* the revived Kaurawas will humiliate their cousins, by causing them to become Caṇḍālas, the Kaurawas in their turn ruling in Gaṇhwaya, so Wyāsa prophesies.

Thereupon Wyāsa and his disciples go to the place where the corpses of the Kaurawas are lying on the field. There they meet Nārada, sent by Bṛhaspati, also with the intention to revive the Kaurawas. Each of the corpses is found lying under a mountain, whose top is too high to be seen. All sorts of things and animals are found on these mountains, in accordance with their deeds. So Bhīṣma's corpse is lying under rock-crystal, for he was true to his vows, etc. All this is explained by Wyāsa to his disciples.

Now the Kaurawas are called back to life by invoking the gods or demons, whose incarnations they are, as said by Wyāsa :

prabhati bhīṣma hetayaṃ, bhyomakeṣaṃ śiwa dronaṃ/
kaśipaṃ hewaṇca śalya, pratanggaṃ karṇa hewaṇca//
dyaparaṃ kaḷi hewaṇca, śakuni kulakalaṃcah/
polataṃ duśaṇaṃcah, walkalaṃ bhāgadatacaṃ//

So Wyāsa, having aspersed the corpse of Bhīṣma with *tīrtha kṣaṇḍalu*, invokes Taya.¹⁸ Immediately Taya is seen coming down and bending over Bhīṣma, who is revived thereby, but his shape is still that of a man wounded and mutilated in the battle. He is aspersed again, three times, by Wyāsa and so regains his former beauty, "as the full moon". There is heard a heavenly voice, repeating the prophecy of Wyāsa and adding that the Kaurawas should take Rāmaparaśu as their *guru*. Thereupon Droṇa is revived by Nārada, invoking Bṛhaspati, Karṇa by Vaiśampāyana making use of the rosary and the mudrā "*aphala-bhedana*" and invoking Āditya. In a similar way Śalya is called back to life by Nārada,

18 *Taya*=non-existence; with *hyang*, the article for gods and holy persons, it denotes a deity, sometimes Buddha.

invoking Daitya Kaśipu; Duryodhana by Wyāsa invoking Kāla^{18a} and Wuḍugbasu¹⁹; Bhagadatta, Śakuni, Jayadratha and Duḥśāsana by Wyāsa's disciples Waiśampāyana, Sumantu, Jaimini,²⁰ and Polaha²¹ invoking Daitya Walkala, Dwāpara,.....and Pulastya. Finally the army is restituted in its old form by Wyāsa.

In accordance with the heavenly voice Bhīṣma now says that the Kaurawas must go and live as hermits, taking their instructions from Rāmaparaśu, who knows all the āsanas, incantations, the *daśanāmāpariyaya* (—paryāya ?), etc. The Kaurawas are glad of this possibility of taking revenge on the Pāṇḍawas. Wyāsa tells them that, just as *kṛṣṇapakṣa* is the reverse of *śuklapakṣa*, so their sorrow and the Pāṇḍawas' joy will change into the reverse. He gives them his good advice as to how they should practise asceticism, after which the Kaurawas take leave from him. On their journey they meet Wiśwakarmā, making a pahoman (place for the *homan*) for Caturbhuja. He shows them the way to Rāmaparaśu, whose *āśrama* is to the North-West from the *āśrama* of "Potrawahana" and to the West from that of "Kṛttabraṇa".

Wyāsa, having given over the Kaurawas' army to the Pāṇḍawas, whose reign is described as a prosperous one, goes back to his *āśrama*; Nārada returns to heaven.

In Gajāhwaya Yudhiṣṭhira answers all the questions of king Dhṛtarāṣṭra. First he explains the origin of his knowledge, that sprang from Taya and was remitted in succession to Dhruwa, Parameśwara, Wiṣṇu, Brahmā, Mahādewa, Dharmarāja and Yudhiṣṭhira.

Question about the *tripuruṣa*. Answer :

spatiḥkaṃ tugu hewaṇcaṃ, śūkaraṇcaṃ parameṣṭaṃ/
udangsu parasikiṇcaṃ, kṣiti bhūmi hāwarṇṇawam//

Parameśwara as a shining jewel enveloped by a resplendent halo formed "the nail of the island of Java." By a

18a Descriptions are given of these gods and demons.

19 A Javanese demon.

20 Text : *Jemili*.

21 Text. *Pelawa*.

mantra of Viṣṇu the halo disappears. Now Viṣṇu in the shape of a boar tries to reach the basis of the jewel; he has no success but meets a woman. In the meantime Brahmā in the shape of a bird flies to the top; he cannot reach the goal, but meets Taya. "This means: Parameśwara embodies all what is high or low; Viṣṇu embodies women, Brahmā embodies Taya. That is what is called *tripuruṣa*." In addition to this there are summed up different triads: king, waiśya, ṛṣi; rice, fish, wine; etc.

Question about the demarcation of the world. Answer about the points of the compass, their gods and colours, classified as follows:

East: Umāpati, white.
 South-East: Parameśwara, pink.
 South: Brahmā, red.
 South-West: Rudra, orange.
 West: Mahādewa, yellow.
 North-West: Śāṅkara, green.
 North: Viṣṇu, bluish-black.
 North-East, Śambhu, bluish-grey.
 Centre: Śiwa, all colours.

Jewels, metals, thunder and lightning, *jātmikawarṇas*,²² etc., apparently are classified in a similar way; the text, however, does not give a very clear idea of what is meant precisely.

Question: What is the reason of the tidal movement?
 Answer: Bhaṭṭāra Guru²³ tried to bring back the Kṛtayuga (description of the four *yugas* is given here). For this purpose he was sitting on the Mahāmeru, whose gates are guarded by Nandiśwara. His *yoga*, however, was interrupted by the man-eating demon "Kālaśūnya"—personification of the *pralaya*(?)—, who would have nothing to eat when the Kṛtayuga, in which nobody dies, came back. In his anger "Kālaśūnya" assumed a formidable shape and devoured the cosmos. As there remained nothing to eat for

²² =Skr. *ādhyātmikawarṇa*; Jav. for *jātmika* is *urip*=life, vital principle.

²³ Very common Indonesian name of Śiwa.

him now, he vomitted all he had swallowed. This is the origin of the tidal movement and of a renewed cosmos.

Question : What is the reason that the Mahāmeru is held in high esteem by the gods and by men of all castes and all sects?

Answer : The Mahāmeru is the embodiment of the four castes, which are its head, neck, waist and feet; it was made of gold, jewels, etc., and all sorts of costly things as *amṛta* were found on it. So it was in the first two *yugas* (a new description of four *yugas* is inserted here :

samporā hajamūrdipam, haśūraśūra hakṛtam/

atirttham dwapara pepam, aduṣṭam dwijanam coram//

In the Kṛtayuga the *urip*²⁴ was in the body, in the Tretāyuga it was in the heart, in the Dwāparayuga in trees and leaves). In Dwāpara the island of Java was seen trembling. On the advice of Mpu Palyat—who after being compelled to worship the “Arcacaṇḍani” exploded it and therefore got the name of Bhagawān Śikhi²⁵—the gods placed the Mahāmeru on the island of Java. As the inhabitants, however, became drunk by the *amṛta* that was found on it and quarrelled about the gold and jewels, the gods gave it the appearance of an ordinary mountain.

When the Mahāmeru had been on Java for eight years, Rāmāparaśu killed Arjuna Sahasrabāhu, for having slain his father Bhṛgu, which deed was followed by a general slaughter.

Question : How to behave as a merit?

Answer : Day and night one has to practise *yoga* choosing one of these *āsanash* padmāsana, wajrāsana, daṇḍāsana, paryangkāsana, wīrāsana, “māstikāsana,”²⁶ each of which is described.

Question about “*aṣṭaga*.”²⁷ Answer : Different duties of the *yogin*, as *ahimsā* for instance, are summed up in the paraphrase of the following śloka :

24 =vital principle.

25 This story about Mpu P. is rather obscure.

26 In the other MSS. : *sphaṭikāsana* or *hastikāsana*.

27 =Skr. *aṣṭaka* or *hastaga* (?)

aśūrāsūraṃ mahabhutaṃ, danaṃ daranaṃ hatirtthaṃ/
 hapayaṃ ja brahmacayaṃ, hayokaṃ rudra hewañca//
 One has to take care of *yoga* and *tapas* as of one's own child,
 so says Yudhiṣṭhira.

Question about the *wuku lima*(?). Answer: Sandhi, tapas, āsana, pratyakṣa and mokṣa.

Question about the different sacrifices. Answer: The sacrifices are: dewayajña, bhūtayajña, pitryajña, manuṣa-yajña, aśwamedha, wiśwajit.

Question: What is the reason that Brahmā sometimes is said to have five heads and at other times four? Answer: Brahmā once asked Gaṇa, the wise, to tell how many heads he (Brahmā) had. If he answered rightly, Brahmā would give him everything he asked for; if not, Brahmā would devour him. Gaṇa said there were five heads, one of them however Brahmā held concealed, which was right. After this Gaṇa solved many other riddles; amongst others he explained the real nature of the nine gods (rather obscure). Asking for his reward he obtained gold, jewels, etc., from Brahmā, tools from Viṣṇu, sexual success (?) from Indra, batikked silk from Rudra, musical skill from Mahiśwara, food and wine from Śambhu, perfect things from abroad(?) from Śaṅkara and gold from Mahādewa. Gaṇa however was not satisfied with all this; his wish was to have things without age or weight. Brahmā therefore gave him flowers and scents; Indra's gift was that in all sorts of things Gaṇa would be worshipped by men.

Question: If Brahmā has five heads, why is he called *caturmukha*? Answer: Bhattachāra Guru, sitting in meditation on Surabhi, was interrupted by Viṣṇu, Brahmā and "Kālaśūnya" in the shape of a boar, a *yakṣa* and a serpent respectively. The breath of Surabhi took the shape of three dogs, a red, a white and a black one. Viṣṇu's head was flung away by Surabhi to the West, becoming the *Weḷ Damalung*—a monstrous swine in hell;—"Kālaśūnya's" head to the sea, becoming *Wāsuki*(?); one of Brahmā's heads to the North, becoming the mountain Tumangan.

Question: What is the source of Gaṇa's wisdom by

which he knows the nature of the nine gods. Answer: "My knowledge about this," Yudhiṣṭhira says, "springs from Ūrwa and was remitted in succession to 'Otrawahana',²⁸ Yama and myself." He then proceeds to tell, that Anantawiśeṣa gave a book, called "Lingga Praṇāla", to Taya, who gave it to Saraswatī, from whom Gaṇa acquired it. This book contained eight pages of different colours, corresponding with the classification given on page 76. In each of these pages were visible the good and bad deeds and qualities of the gods in the past, present and future.

Question: That knowledge is lost now. Why? Answer: Umā asked Gaṇa to tell her all she had done according to the book. After some hesitation Gaṇa made the following statement: Umā has had sexual intercourse with a cowherd, with the intention to possess herself of the milk of his cow. Moreover she has committed incest with her step-son Āditya, the son of Sundarī. Umā asked to see the book. After some difficulties, Gaṇa gave it to her explaining how to use it. Then Umā in the white page sees the good and bad deeds of Śiwa; all he has done with Sundarī, being in an *āśrama*. In the red page she sees the deeds in Brahmā, and so on. Seeing that Gaṇa is able to read in the book all she has done or will do, she asked to be presented with it. Gaṇa refused, but Umā in a fury tore the book to pieces and thereby became Durgā. Gaṇa fled but was seized by Durgā and compelled to release her from her Durgā-form. This is done by invoking the *tripuruṣi*, Umā,²⁹ Śrī and Saraswatī. Thereupon Sāwitṛī,²⁹ Śrī and Saraswatī take their abode in Durgā's spiritual and corporeal being. A *mantra* is pronounced over her by Gaṇa, she is aspersed with *tirtha*, wrapped in holy garments, etc., and so gets back her Umā-form. The remains of the book were given to "Tambrapeta". By him they were brought to the earth and given to "Citragotra".

After this conversation king Dhṛtarāṣṭra clad in his royal garments, having given his instructions to Widura and the

28 "Otrawahana" = Jamadagni (?)

29 Here Umā and Sāwitṛī seem to denote the same goddess,

Pāṇḍawas departs for the *āśrama* of Rāmaparaśu on the Mahendragiri. Arrived there he relates how he has lost his sons :

tanayaṃ sunu hewañca, halinalina hecuṇṇaṃ/
 hadihantaṃ wiwolañca, korawaṃpaṇḍawaṃ walaṃ//
 but is consoled by his host, who tells the story of Senajit and his *purohita* "Sumanārṣa".³⁰

śenajit apararthaḥ, asutaṃsuṭaṃ linañca/
 awinghit sukṣkañanaṃ, wipraṃ dwijaṃ sahaḥkamaṃ//
 The *purohita*, newly arrived from Jambudwīpa, said to his master :

ajanaṃ karakah dukaṃ, awijahwijah pasaraṃ/
 awṛḍah pasaraṃ lapaṃ, praśaśaṇca sadurmmasam//
 there is no reason for sorrow about the loss of a son, because death is the reverse of life, as day is the reverse of night. The same holds good in Dhṛtarāṣṭra's case.

The king then gives his garments and jewels to the *ṛṣis*, after which he goes to the Śataśṛṅga, where he lives in the hole of a tiger. His vows are : "toyahara, agnihara, patrahara."³¹

Now the story goes on, telling how Bhīṣma and the Kaurawas arrive at Rāmaparaśu's *āśrama*. They are welcomed and entertained by him. He produces all sorts of food out of the mountain Maināka by the power of his *yoga*—just as he has done before for Dhṛtarāṣṭra. The Kaurawas ask him to assign them a place for the practice of *tapas*. Rāmaparaśu sums up different possibilities and assigns to Bhīṣma, the incarnation of one of the Aṣṭavasus, the top of the mountain Gandhamādana, Prabhāsa³² for having led a life of chastity; the neck of the mountain to Droṇa, incarnation of Bṛhaspati, for having led a married life; and the foot to Śalya, for being an incarnation of Daitya Kāśipu. After their departure Duryodhana asks why the appearance of many people is not in accordance with their

30 Cf. MBh. XII, 174 (*Brāhmaṇa-Senajitsaṃwāda*)

31 =Skr. *toyāhāra*, *agnyāhāra*, *patrāhāra* (?)

32 Cf. p. 8.

caste: rich *Caṇḍālas*, ugly *Kṣatriyas*, etc. Answering this question Rāmaparaśu first relates how Indra, oppressed by the three demons, "Mali", "Hemāli" and "Sumāli", was delivered from them by Wiṣṇu, making use of the *caḥra* Wajranābha. As a reward Indra gave him the beautifying *ajits* (incantations) Citrabhūwana and Dewāṅgacitra. So,

awigñam śeta hecarmam, haḍatuḍatu ham phalam/
hlepitpita hotyacam..., apti rudira kañca...//

having the same *aji* Wiṣṇu and Indra resemble each other. A third *aji*, called "sūkṣma jahinang" was given to Śrī by Bhaṭṭārī Śacī, by the power of which Śrī was able always to remain a virgin. She roused the desires of Bhaṭṭāra Guru, who thereby assumed his Kāla-form. Wiṣṇu and Śrī, flying from heaven, concealed themselves in the houses of all sorts of people: tailor, goldsmith, butcher, etc. Seeing Wiṣṇu and Śrī they became beautiful and got beautiful twins of different sex.

Question: What is the reason that beautiful people often are stupid, mutilated people rich, etc.? Answer: They are protected by their favourable qualities; stupid people are protected by their wealth, etc. That is what is called *pañcawṛti*.³³ When all qualities of a man are bad he is an *itip ing kawāh* = "crusts of the kettle of hell", when all are good he is a punished god, sent down from heaven.

Duryodhana announces his wish to go and live as a hermit, so preparing his revenge on the Pāṇḍawas.

In his turn Karṇa asks about the different *oṃkāras*. Answer: the *pañca-oṃkāra* is the ritual of the Siddhānta-pakṣa; the *sapta-oṃkāra* that of the Brāhmaṇas; the *aṣṭa-oṃkāra-mantra* that of the Bauddhas. Also the *mudrās* and *pūjā* of these sects are summed up. Here are mentioned Brāhmaṇas born in Java as different from those coming from Jambudwīpa, who are *Sūdras*, made *dewaguru*³⁴ by king "Wimbaya",³⁵ whose residence is in "Cañcalawiṣaya".

33 =the five kinds of existence (?) the meaning of the text is rather obscure here.

34 *dewaguru* often has the sense of "head of a *maṇḍala*" = congregation, monastery.

35 or: "Wimcaya"?

Question: What is the reason that all sorts of animals are worshipped by men? Answer: Śiwa and Umā, in their Kāla- and Durga-form asked "sang hyang Tunggal-tunggal"³⁶ to release them. Being Kāla's father he consented, on the condition that they would worship him in any shape he assumed.

amṛgaṃmṛgaṃ ewaṇca, atharu laṭaṃ magulmaṃ/
aminaṃmināṃ pakṣihāṃ, talangkup matraśangghyaṭaṃ//

They are released in a similar way as told on p. (Gaṇa and Durgā). Wandering on earth different animals (cows, dogs, frogs, snakes, etc.) and trees were recognized by them as incarnations of "sang hyang Tunggal-tunggal." They worshipped these incarnations and made a vow that every human being, doing the same, would be free from all sins and would attain all he wishes.

Question about the islands that surround the island of Java. Rāmaparaśu answers that he does not know that Karna should ask his father Āditya.³⁷

Karna now proposes that he and Duryodhana, Duḥśāsana, Śakuni and Bhagadatta will go and live as hermits doing severe penance to win the favour of Brahmā, Śiwa, Mahā-dewa, Viṣṇu and Āditya,³⁸ in order to be allowed to kill the Pāṇḍawas. Karna departs for the East to meet his father. Rāmaparaśu assigns the mountain Durmukha in the South to Duryodhana, as a place for doing penance; there Rāwaṇa had lived as a *yogin* to obtain the favours of Brahmā. The mountain Gandhamādana is assigned to Śakuni, the mountain Suranātha to Bhagadatta, the mountain Prakuta to Duḥśāsana.

Duryodhana does penance in the same way as Rāwaṇa has done "using his body as a sacrifice and his blood as *tirtha*," sitting in *daṇḍāsana*, eating fire.³⁹ After some time

36=the holy One, the God of Gods; Jav. *tunggal*=one; he is called also *sang hyang Eka* or *s.hy.Eka Sūkṣma*.

37 Seems to be called here "Suramani."

38 The gods of the four regions and the centre; cf. the classification on p.

39 Text: *agniḥara*; cf. 15, note 2.

Brahmā comes down to him. Duryodhana asks to be allowed to kill the Pāṇḍawas. Brahmā pronounces this to be impossible, for the Pāṇḍawas are indispensable for the existence of humanity and of the world in the same way as are the Kaurawas. The latter however will humiliate their rivals, who will become *Caṇḍālas*, "when the *dwidaśa*(?)⁴⁰ are complete."

Śakuni, sitting in *paryangkāsana*, eating leaves,⁴¹ is visited by Mahādewa, also called Buddha and "the holy yellow (god) of the West."⁴² Similar request and similar answer, as above.

Bhagadatta, sitting in *caṅkāsana*, drinking water⁴³ is visited by Wiṣṇu, etc., as above.

Duḥśāsana, doing penance staying on one foot,⁴⁴ is visited by Śiwa, of whom a description is given. Request and answer as above.

Karṇa meets his father in the East and asks for the description of the islands surrounding the island of Java. Āditya answers with a description of the course of sun and moon in *ākāśa* and *pātāla*, fixed by Dhruwa, and of the depth of the ocean.

To see the islands Karṇa, riding on the horse Uccaiḥśrawas, accompanies his father, on Aruṇa. They pass through the Eastern gate. Karṇa asks about the width and the demarcation of the ocean.

Āditya points to the three White islands in the East (description). The inhabitants are most beautiful and free from death; there is a very wise hermit called "brāhmaṇa kawibhrāta." In the South are seen the three Red Islands (description). The king here is the man-eating Daitya Kālawana, son of Brahmā, who died in the following way: Challenged by Kṛṣṇa, he defeated and shattered the army of the latter. Kṛṣṇa fled to Mucukunda, who assigned to him as a refuge a *pahoman* which was transparent and very sharp

40 = twelve kinds of *tapas* (?)

42 *sang hyang āpita paścima*.

44 *eṅapāda*.

41 *patrahara*.

43 *toyahara*.

at the outside. Kālayawana, rushing towards Kṛṣṇa, does not see that he is protected by the *pahoman* and so is crushed against it. His corpse was burned by Agni, whom Mucukunda summoned by the magic of the *aji jñānadahana*.

On these Red Islands lives Wibhāwasu, who has a transparent *pahoman* and a red basin filled with the *sūkṣmas* of all sorts of fishes, lotuses, etc. The inhabitants drinking out of it "live as long as the mountains." In the West are seen the three Yellow Islands, (description and *śloka*). Here is living Trikālajña, "the father of bhaṭṭāra Dharmarāja, the father of Yama." A similar description of his *āśrama*, *pahoman* and basin. In the North are seen the Black Islands, having a mighty king, beautiful as Indra, wise as Bhaṭṭāra Guru, etc., called Dharmadhara. Here is living "Dewabasu, uncle of the king of Dwārawatī, younger brother of bhagawān Gowinda," worshipped by the people. Similar *pahoman* and basin.

Question of Kaṇa about the *saptabhuwana*. Āditya's answer is very obscure. Three layers in the *swarga* and three in the *pātāla* are mentioned; perhaps these and the earth are thought to form the *saptabhuwana* (?). Different *lokas* are summed up here, but there seems to be a great discrepancy between the old-Javanese text and the *ślokas*:

ajanaṃlokaṃ madḍyate, saśwargaṃlokaṃ medayaṃ/
naleyamlokaṃ mādriyaṃ, narakamlokaṃ

hidanam//

bhuhlokaṃ saçwarggaṃlokaṃ, sukalenam

hahah lokaṃ/

brāhmalokaṃ wiṣṇulokaṃ, śūnyabhyo

nirwarṇaṃrtaṃ//

The highest *loka* is the *śūnyaloka*, "this is the heaven of bhagawān Durwa, the son of bhagawān Śuta,⁴⁵ the younger brother of bhagawān Nirbhaṇa."⁴⁶ In order to see the *pātālas* they must pass the Western gate, so Āditya says. Kaṇa asks about the two gates. Āditya tells how in the Kṛta- and Tretā-yuga sun and moon shone always; only now

45 = *cyuta* (?)

46 = *nirwāṇa* (!)

in the Dwāpara- and Kali-yuga the moon has its different phases, the sun is setting every day—which means shining in the *pātāla*—and is eaten by Rāhu periodically. Therefore in the East and the West were made holes and gates leading from the upperworld into the underworld, first by “Bhasundari” and the carpenter of the gods, Wiśwakarma, then, after the sun having burned down these gates, by Lohakāra, the smith of the gods. Having gone down into the *pātāla*, Āditya explained that in the Rasātala lives Waruṇa, in the Mahātala Wāsukī and in the Sūta Anantabhoga.

Question about the origin of earthquakes. These are explained by Āditya as movements of Anantabhoga and “badawanga Nala,”⁴⁷ who are supporting the Mahāmeru and the island of Java.

Now Karṇa addresses a request to his father similar to that of the Kaurawas; a similar answer is given him.⁴⁸ After this Āditya and Karṇa ascend to the earth out of the *pātāla*, as dawn is at hand.

Karṇa having taken leave from his father goes to the *āśrama* of Duryodhana. He finds him in meditation in the hole of a tiger. Perceiving Karṇa, Duryodhana is very glad. “Karṇa put a question to mahārāja Duryodhana: By your leave, my younger brother Gāndhārisuta.....” (with these words the Korawāśrama ends abruptly).

47 =Skr. *waḍabānala* (?); Jav. *baḍawang*=turtle.

48 Cf. the quotation given in the beginning of this paper, pp.

The Malay

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

By philological researches Schmidt and other scholars have sought to establish a definite connection between the languages of some primitive tribes of India such as Muṇḍā and Khāsi with Mon-khmèr and allied languages including those of the Semang and the Sakai. They have presumed the existence of a linguistic family which is now called Austro-Asiatic.¹

Schmidt believes that 'the linguistic unity between these peoples which is now definitely established, points to an ethnic unity among them as well, though positive and satisfactory evidence on this point is lacking yet'.²

"Schmidt has extended his studies even further and proposed to connect the Austro-Asiatic family with the Austro-nesian" to which, as stated above, the Malays belonged. Schmidt thus seeks to establish a "larger linguistic unity between Austro-Asiatic and Austro-nesian and calls the family thus constituted 'Austrie'." Here, again, Schmidt indicates the possibility of an ethnic unity among the peoples whose linguistic affinity is thus definitely assured.

Schmidt thus regards the peoples of Indo-China and Indonesia³ as belonging to the same stock as the Muṇḍā and

1 *Die Mon-Khmèr-Völker*, etc. (1906), pp. 35 ff. I have used the French translation in *BEFEO.*, Vol. VII (pp. 213-63), VIII (pp. 1-35). A good exposition of Schmidt's view, so far as the linguistic aspect is concerned, is given in the introductory chapter in "*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*" by Dr. P. C. Bagchi (Calcutta University, 1929) from which I have freely quoted. (The page marks within bracket in the text refer to this book).

2 Schmidt, *op. cit.*, cf. specially p. 233.

3 The Muṇḍā group of language includes Kol, the more eastern Kherwari with Santali Muṇḍāri, Bhumij, Birhor, Koḍā, Ho, Turi, Asuri,

allied tribes of Central India and the Khāsis of North-Eastern India. He regards India as the original home of all these peoples from which they gradually spread to the east and south-east. The following passage sums up his views in this respect :—

'In the same way as I have presented here the results of my investigations on movements of peoples who, starting from India towards the east, at first spread themselves over the whole length of Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and then over all the islands of the Pacific Ocean up to its eastern extremity,—my attention has for long been drawn to another current which, in my opinion, also started from India, but turned more directly towards the south and touching only the western fringe of the Pacific Ocean proceeded, perhaps by way of New Guinea towards the continent of Australia'.⁴

Schmidt's views, must be regarded as only provisional.⁵ But several other scholars have supported this view on entirely different grounds. Among them may be mentioned the names of S. Lévi, J. Przyluski and J. Bloch. The relevant articles on this subject by these eminent scholars have been published together in English version by Dr. P. C. Bagchi. The following summary is derived almost entirely from his book entitled "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India."

Prof. Thomsen first maintained that Muṇḍā influence can be traced in the formation of Indian vernaculars. Recent studies have tried to establish that this influence can be traced further back. Prof. Przyluski has tried to explain a certain number of words of the Sanskrit vocabulary as fairly ancient loans from the Austro-Asiatic family of languages.

and Korwa dialects, and the western Kurku; Khapiā, Juang; and the two mixed languages Savara and Gadaba. (Dr. P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. vi).

4 Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-49. A critical summary of Schmidt's view is given by Blagden "—From Central India to Polynesia". *J. Str. Br. RAS.*, No. 53, p. 63.

5 Recently Schmidt's view has been challenged by W. F. de Hevesy, who denies the existence of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages (*JBORS.*, Vol. XX, pp. 251 ff.)

Prof. Jules Bloch has proved that the question of the Muṇḍā substratum in Indo-Aryan cannot be overlooked (pp. xi-xii).

"But the problem has other aspects too, and it has been further proved that not only linguistic but certain cultural and political facts also of the ancient history of India can be explained by admitting an Austro-Asiatic element. In 1923 Prof. S. Lévi tried to show that some geographical names of ancient India like Kosala-Tosala, Aṅga-Vaṅga, Kalinga-Triliṅga, Utkala-Mekala, and Pulinda-Kulinda, ethnic names which go by pairs, can be explained by the morphological system of the Austro-Asiatic languages. In 1926 Prof. Przyluski tried to explain the name of an ancient people of the Punjab, the Udumbara, in a similar way and affiliate it to the Austro-Asiatic group. In another article, the same scholar discussed some names of Indian towns in the geography of Ptolemy and tried to explain them by Austro-Asiatic forms (pp. xii-xiii).

"In another series of articles, Prof. Przyluski is trying to prove a certain number of Indian myths by the Austro-Asiatic influence. He studied the Mahābhārata story of Matsyagandhā and some legends of the nāgī, in Indian literature, compared them with similar tales in the Austro-Asiatic domain and concluded that these stories and legends were conceived in societies living near the sea, societies of which the civilisation and social organisation were different from those of the neighbouring peoples, the Chinese and the Indo-Aryans." (p. xiii).

The bearing of all these interesting investigations on the question under discussion has thus been admirably expressed by S. Lévi :—

"We must know whether the legends, the religion and philosophical thought of India do not owe anything to this past. India has been too exclusively examined from the Indo-European standpoint. It ought to be remembered that India is a great maritime country, open to a vast sea forming so exactly its Mediterranean, a Mediterranean of proportionate dimensions—which for a long time was believed to be closed on the south. The movement which carried the

Indian colonisation towards the Far East, probably about the beginning of the Christian Era was far from inaugurating a new route, as Columbus did in navigating towards the west. Adventurers, traffickers and missionaries profited by the technical progress of navigation, and followed under the best condition of comfort and efficiency the way traced from times immemorial by the mariners of another race whom the Aryan or Aryanised India despised as savages." (pp. 125-26).

In other words, the cumulative effect of all these researches is to push back the first phase of Indian colonisation in the Far East to a time prior to the Aryan or Dravidian conquest of India. It will not perhaps be rash to imagine that that colonisation was partly, at least, the result of Dravidian and Aryan settlements in India which dislodged the primitive settlers and forced them to find a new home across the seas.⁶

It may be noted, however, that conclusion of an almost opposite character has been arrived at by certain scholars. Krom, for example, believes that the Indonesians had colonised India in primitive times, and the later Aryan colonisation of the Far East was merely the reverse of that process.⁷ This is in flagrant contradiction to the views of Schmidt and Lévi and seems to be based mainly on the theory of Mr. J. Hornell. In his Memoir on "the origins and ethnological significance of the Indian Boat Designs" Mr. Hornell "admits a strong Polynesian influence on the Pre-Dravidian population of the southern coast of India. He thinks that a wave of Malayan immigration must have arrived later, after the entrance of the Dravidians on the scene, and it was a Malayan people who brought from the Malay Archipelago the cultivation of the Coco-palm." (p. xvii).

Two other observations by different scholars probably

6 Kern also held a similar view, cf. *VG.*, Vol. XV, p. 180. He held that they came from India, their ultimate home being Central Asia. This is not in conflict with his original view that the home-land of the Malayo Polynesians was the eastern coast of Further India.

7 Krom—*Geschiedenis*, p. 38.

lend colour to this view. In the first place, Prof. Das Gupta "has brought out the striking analogy between some sedentary games of India (specially of the Central Provinces, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the Punjab) and those of Sumatra." (p. xvii).

Secondly, we have the following remarks made by Dr. J. H. Hutton with reference to some pre-historic monoliths of Dimapur near Manipur. "The method of erection of these monoliths is very important, as it throws some light on the erection of pre-historic monoliths in other parts of the world. Assam and Madagascar are the only remaining parts of the world where the practice of erecting rough stones still continues.....The origin of this cult is uncertain, but it appears that it is to be mainly imputed to the Mon-Khmer intrusion from the east." In his opinion these monoliths take the forms of the *lingam* and *yonis*, and he thinks that they possibly originated in Indonesia. (pp. xvii-xviii).

In all these cases the similarity that undoubtedly exists may be explained by supposing either that India derived the practices from Indonesia or that Indonesia derived them from India. The recent discoveries at Mohenjo-daro,⁸ however, prove the existence of the cult of *Linga* and *Yoni* in the Indus Valley at least in the beginning of the third millennium B.C. Thus the migration of the cult towards the east seems most probable. Considering the whole course of Indian History it seems more probable that the migration of the people and ideas was generally from India towards the east and no tangible evidence has yet been obtained that the process was just the reverse. On the whole, therefore, the views of Schmidt and Sylvain Lévi appear far more reasonable than those of Hornell and Hutton.

In view of a possible pre-historic connection between India and Malayasia it is necessary to examine in all its bearings the word *Malaya* which has given the name to the dominant race and the dominant language in Malayasia. It

8 Marshall—*The Indus Civilisation*, pp. 58 ff.

is a well-known fact that an Indian tribe called Mālava (*var.* Malava) or Mālaya (*var.* Malaya) is known from very ancient times. The common form, of course, is Mālava, but the form 'Mālaya' also occurs on their coins. In a discussion of these coins Mr. Douglas maintained that Mālaya is the older form of the tribal name. His conclusion rests chiefly on the Greek form of the name. "The Greeks" says he "called them the Malloi. Had the name Mālava been in common use at that time, I feel sure that the Greeks would have transliterated the word as the Malluoi. This seems to me to show that the commoner form of the tribal name at the time of the Greek invasions was Mālaya."⁹

Whatever we may think of this view, there is no doubt that both the forms were in common use. The form Malaya occurs in Mudrā-Rākṣasa¹⁰ and Mālaya in an inscription found at Nasik.¹¹ The interchange of *y* and *v* is also attested by the alternative names of a Sātavāhana king as Pulumāyi and Pulumāvi.¹²

The antiquity of the Mālava-Mālaya tribe is proved by Pāṇini's reference to it as a clan living by the profession of arms (*āyudhaḥjivin*). There is no doubt also that the Mālavas were widely spread in different parts of India. Alexander met them in the Punjab, but their settlement in Rājputānā is proved by the discovery of thousands of their coins at Nagar in Jaipur State¹³ and the reference in the Nasik inscription mentioned above.

The Indian literature also makes frequent references to the Mālavas. The Mahābhārata knows of various Mālava tribes in the west, north and south.¹⁴ The Rāmāyaṇa and Matsya-purāṇa include the Mālavaṣ among the eastern

9 JASB., N.S. Vol. XIX, (1924), Numismatic supplement No. XXXVII, p. 43.

10 Act I, verse 20.

11 Rapson—*Catalogue of the coins of the Andhras, etc.*, p. LVII.

12 *Ibid.*, f.n. 1.

13 V. A Smith—*Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 161 ff., 170 ff.

14 Cf. Mahābhārata, II-32, III-51, VI-, 87, 106.

tribes¹⁵ while various other texts refer to them, as a people in one or other parts of India.

The wide spread of the Mālavas may also be guessed from Indian dialects or toponyms connected with them. Mr. Grierson has referred to a Malavia dialect extending from Ferozepur to Bhatinda in the Punjab and we have also the well-known Malayalam language of southern India. The well-known Indian provinces of Mālava in northern India and Malayabar or Malabar in southern India still testify to the influence of that tribal name. The Malaya mountain, the source of Sandalwood, is referred to in the Purāṇas and other ancient literature as one of the seven *Kulaparvatas* or boundary mountains in India. Lastly the famous era, beginning in 58 B.C., has been associated with the Mālavas from the earliest times.

The Buddhist literature also refers to Malaya country. The famous Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra is said to have been delivered by the Buddha in the city of Laṅkā on the summit of the Malaya mountain on the border of the sea. The Buddhist reference to Malaya has been regarded by some as purely imaginary but the existence of a Malaya mountain in Ceylon is proved by Ptolemy and Mahāvamsa. That of a Malaya country and a Malaya mountain in the south of India also rests on definite grounds. The great Buddhist Vajrabodhi who came to China in A.D. 719 is described as a native of the Malaya country adjoining Mount Potalaka, his father being preceptor of the king of Kāñcī. Hiuen Tsang places the country of Malakūṭa, 3000 li. south of Kāñcī and refers to its mountains Malaya and Potalaka. Alberuni also places Malaya 40 farsakhs (about 160 miles) south of Kāñcī. Thus we have both a Mālava country and a Malaya mountain in the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula.¹⁶ There is no doubt that this name is preserved in modern Malabar

¹⁵ *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV. 40, V. 22. *Matsyapurāṇa*, Ch. 114, V. 34.

¹⁶ S. Lévi in *JA.*, CCVI, pp. 65 ff. Watters—*On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 229-31. Ptolemy—(McCrindle) p. 249. Geiger—*Mahāvamsa*, p. 60. Sachau—*Alberuni*, Vol. I, p. 200, cf. also *BEFEO.*, Vol. IV, p. 359.

which the Arab Geographers call either Malaya-bar or simply Malay.¹⁷

While the Mālava and Mālaya can thus be traced as tribal or geographical names all over India, up to its north-western, eastern and southern extremities, the spread of this name across the sea is no less conspicuous. On the east, the famous Malays of Malayasia, the place names Malay and Malacca in the Peninsula, Malayu in Sumatra,¹⁸ Mālā or Mālava for Laos and perhaps even Molucca islands in the eastern extremity of the Archipelago, and on the west Maldives (Māladvīpa), and Malay the ancient name of Madagascar¹⁹ testify to the spread of the name in Indo-China and along the whole range of the southern ocean.

Now Ferrand has drawn our attention to the fact that the Indonesian language, mixed with Sanskrit vocabulary, was current in Madagascar. Combining this fact with other traditional evidences he has come to the conclusion that Madagascar was colonised in ancient times by Hinduised Indonesians.²⁰ It is not necessary for the present to discuss the further implications of this theory as enunciated by Ferrand, and I must rest content by pointing out the bearing of the account of Mālava-Mālaya, as given above, on this as well as several other theories.

Now the theories of Schmidt, Lévi, Hornell and Hutton (as modified by the discoveries at Mohenjo-daro) referred to above all presuppose or are at least satisfactorily explained by a stream of migration of Indian peoples towards the east and south-east, to Assam, Burma, Indo-China and Malay-

17 Ferrand—*Textes*, p. 38, f.n. 5, pp. 204, 340.

18 "The name Malayu is very common in Sumatra. There are a mountain and a river of that name; there are five villages called Malayu and a tribe of that name. *T'oung Pao*, series II, Vol. II, p. 115.

19 Ferrand—*Textes*, pp. 389, 396.

20 *JA.*, II-XII, (1918), pp. 121 ff. *JA.*, II-XIV, (1919), pp. 62 ff. pp. 201 ff. Krom, however, thinks that the Indonesian people colonised Madagascar before they came into contact with the Hindus. He attributes the Indian element in the language of Madagascar to later intercourse (*Geschiedenis*, pp. 38-9).

Archipelago, both by land and sea. The migrations of the Mālava tribe, so far as we can judge from the occurrence of geographical names, follow, as we have seen above, exactly this course, as we can trace them from the Pūnjab to Assam on the one side and to Malabar on the other.

From Malabar we can trace the name, in the east through Ceylon (Mālaba mountain in Laṅkā) and Sumatra (Malyu) to Malaya Peninsula, perhaps even to Moluccos. On the west we can trace it from Malabar to Maldives and Madagascar. It is no doubt more reasonable to explain the linguistic facts observed by Ferrand in Madagascar by supposing a common centre in India from which the streams of colonisation proceeded both towards the east as well as towards the west, than by supposing that Hindu colonists first settled in Malayasia and then turned back to colonise Madagascar. The people of Madagascar have a tradition that their ancestors came from Mangalore.²¹ This place is located by Ferrand in the south of Malay Peninsula, but it should not be forgotten that Mangalore is the name of a well-known place in Malabar Coast, and is referred to by Arab writers as one of the most celebrated towns of Malabar.²²

I do not wish to be dogmatic and do not altogether reject the views of Ferrand. But the known facts about the Mālava-Mālāya tribe in India seem to me to offer quite a satisfactory explanation not only of the problem of colonisation of Madagascar but also of the racial, linguistic and cultural phenomena observed by Schmidt, Hutton and Hornell. It is interesting to note in this connection that various words inscribed on the coins of the Mālavas which have been provisionally explained as names of tribal leaders, are non-Sanskritic. Thus we have Bhapamyana, Majupa, Mapojaya, Mapaya, Magajaśa, Magaja, Magojava, Gojara, Masapa, Mapaka, Paccha, Magacche, Gajava, Jāmaka, Jamapaya, Paya. Whatever the language may be, it shows one peculiar Austronesian characteristic, which has been traced by Sylvain Lévi in certain geographical nomenclatures

21 J.A., XIV. (1919), p. 64.

22 Ferrand—*Textes*, p. 204.

of ancient India, *viz.*, the existence of a certain number of words constituting almost identical pairs, differentiated between themselves only by the nature of their initial consonants. Among the terms on the Mālava coins noted above we may easily select two series of this type :—

1. Paya, Ma-paya, Ja-ma-paya.
2. Gajava, Magojava.

The tribe Mālava-Mālaya has played a great part in the history of India. Its name is associated with an old language, the most ancient era and two important provinces of India. The Mālaya tribe has played an equally dominant part in the Indian seas. It has been the dominant race in the Indian Archipelago and its name and language are spread over a wide region extending almost from Australia to African coast. I have shown enough grounds above for the presumption—and it must not be regarded as anything more than a mere presumption—that the Mālava of India may be looked upon as the parent stock of the Mālayas who played such a leading part in the Malayasia. It may be interesting to note here that Przyluski has shown from linguistic data that Udumbara or Odumbara was the name of an Austro-Asiatic people of the Punjab and also designated their country.²³ The Odumbaras were neighbours of the Mālavas and the coins of the two peoples belong approximately to the same period.²⁴ Thus, *prima facie* there is nothing inherently objectionable in the assumption that the Mālava-Mālaya may also be the name of an Austro-Asiatic people.

If the presumption be held a reasonable one, we may refer to Ptolemy's account as an evidence that the Mālayas had spread to the Far East before his time. Ptolemy refers to mountain Malaya in Ceylon and cape Maleou Kolon in the Golden Khersonesus. Regarding the latter, McCrindle remarks as follows: "Mr. Crawford has noticed the singular circumstance that this name is pure Javanese signifying "Western Malays". Whether the name Malay can be so old is a question; but I observe that in Bastian's

23 P. C. Bagchi—*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 149-60.

24 V. A. Smith—*op. cit.*, pp. 160 ff., p. 166.

Siamese extracts the foundation of Takkhala is ascribed to the Malays." Thus indications are not wanting that various branches of the Malay tribe had settled in Malayasia before the second century A.D. There is a general tradition among the Malays of Minankaban that their parent-stock came from India and settled in the western coast of Sumatra.²⁵

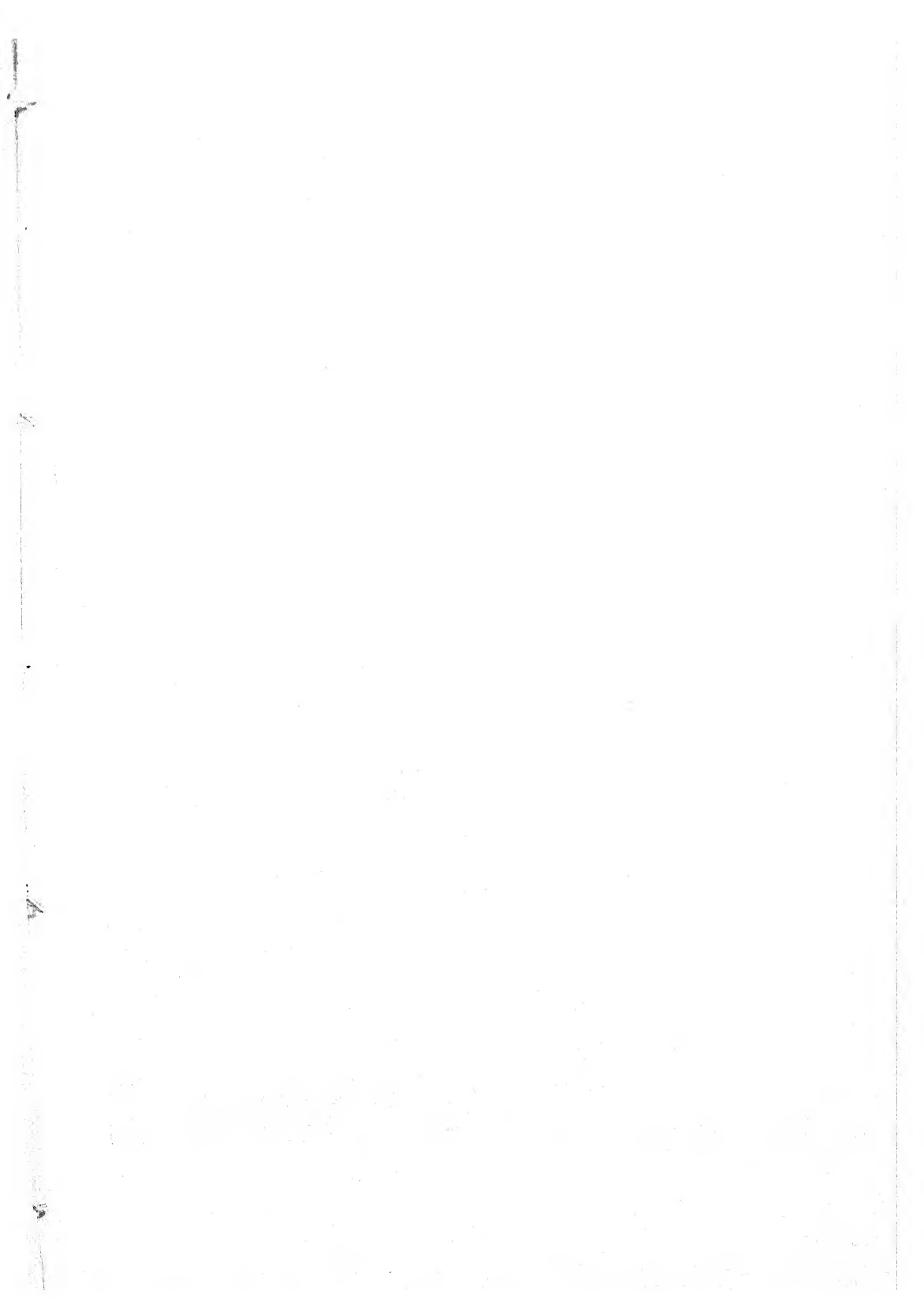
Thus while it is impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion in this matter, pre-historic migrations of Austronesian tribes from India to Malayasia appear very probable, and if this view be correct, we may regard the Indian Mālaya-Mālava people as one of these tribes.²⁶

²⁵ Cf. Ferrand in *JA.*, XII, p. 77.

²⁶ Although I have arrived at the theory of the Indian origin of the Malays quite independently, it is only fair to note that Gerini made the same suggestion in his "*Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, (p. 101 ff.)". I have not referred to his views as they are mixed up with a great deal of extraneous matter and some amount of fanciful etymological derivations. So far as I can see his view rests primarily on the resemblances of geographical names.

Gerini explains Maleou-Kolon as referring to two prominent Indian tribal names—Malay and Kola (Cola) of south India, and he traces many other south Indian tribal names to the Malay Peninsula (cf. pp. 102-03). He holds that Malacca was either a modification of Malaykolam or Malayaka (meaning the country of the Malays) or identical with Mālaka, the name of a southern Indian tribe mentioned in the Mahābhārata (p. 105). I have tentatively adopted this view in respect of both Malacca and Moluccos. With the exception of this and the statement that Laos is referred to as Mālava (p. 117) I have not borrowed from Gerini any views or statements recorded in this chapter.

I must also state that it is usually held, though without sufficient reason, that the term Malaya as designating the Malay Peninsula came into use only in the seventeenth century A.D. (*J. Mal. Br. RAS.*, 1930, p. 85), presumably in consequence of the migration of a large number of Malays from Sumatra, in the fifteenth century A.D. (*Bull. com. Arch. Indo-Chine*, 1909, p. 184). Blagden refers to I-tseing's Malayu and infers that Malaya country, *par excellence* was in Central Sumatra, a fact agreeing very well with native Malay tradition on the subject which derives the origin of many of the Malays of the Peninsula from the old Central Sumatran State of Menangkaban (*J. Str. Br. RAS.*, No. 32, pp. 211-13). This view admits the possibility of the name Malaya being applied to the Peninsula at an earlier date. Cf. Crawford—*Dictionary*, pp. 250-52.



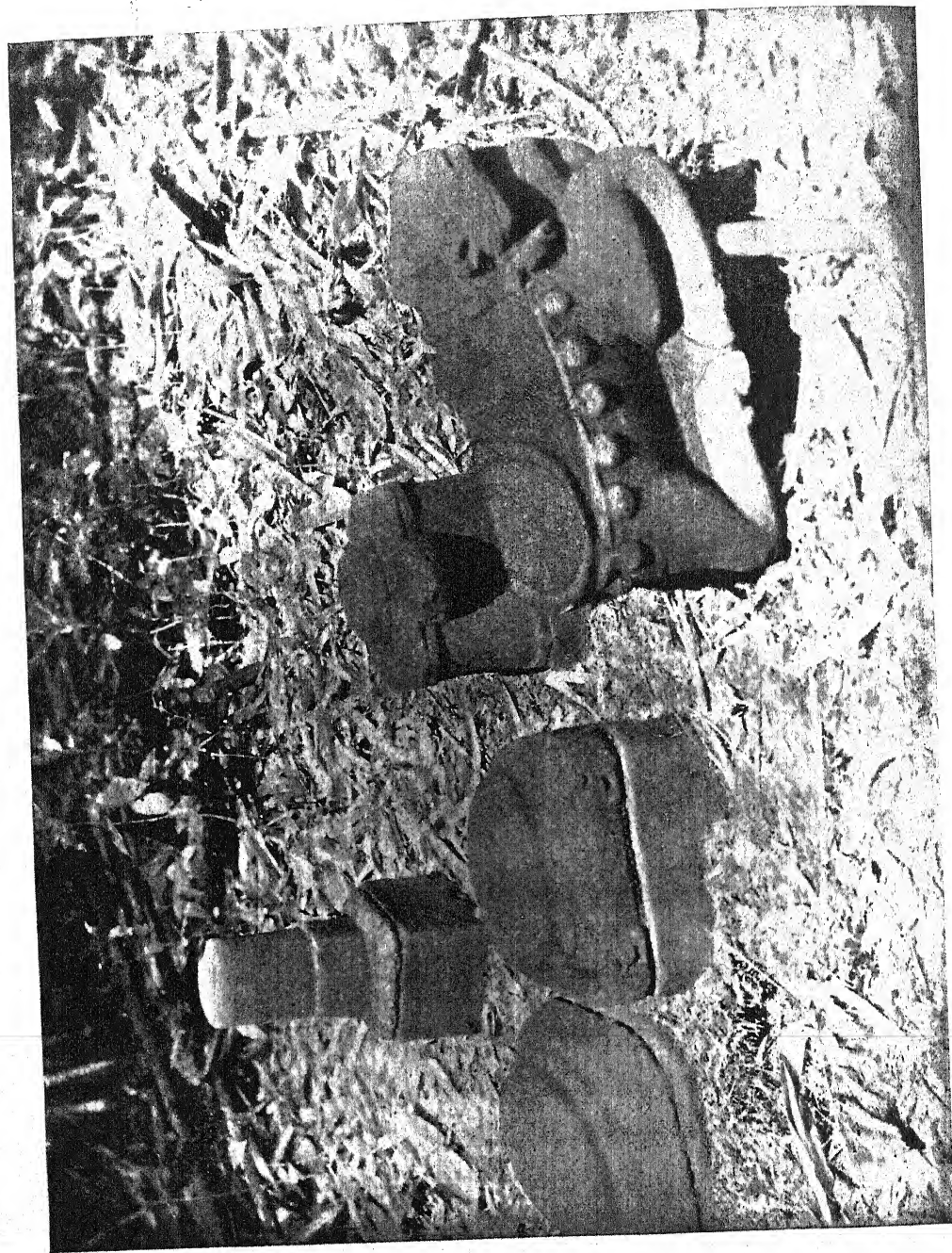


Fig. A. Saivaite Relics from Mahahar, Borneo.

On Some Hindu Relics in Borneo

By O. C. Gangoly

In an insignificant Note published in "Rūpam" (1926, Nos. 27-28, p. 114), which the Editor of *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* (Vol. I, p. 82) did the writer courtesy to quote *in extenso*, I had ventured to suggest, as a random guess, that the island of Borneo may possibly be identified with the *Barhiṇa dvīpa* mentioned in the *Purāṇas*.¹ The discovery of various Hindu images² in Borneo brought to light by the *Midden-Oost-Borneo Expeditie* (the Central and East Borneo Expedition) in 1925, appeared to lend colour to the writer's theory that Borneo was possibly known to the writers of the Brahmanical *purāṇic* sagas. This would imply that Borneo might have received its Hindu culture direct

1 In the *Vāyu-purāṇa* we find a reference to a cluster, group or system of islands having for its centre the *Barhiṇa dvīpa*, and the whole group appears to be designated as *Barhiṇa-dvīpa-varṣa*. This seems to point to an early period when the *Java-dvīpa* had not yet emerged into a relative position of eminence. In the 48th section of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* the following verses occur :

"*Viśīrṇāścāyatāścaiva nānā-sattva-samākūlāḥ*
Barhiṇa-dvīpa-parvāṇi kṣudra-dvīpāḥ sahasraśaḥ//12//
Jambu-dvīpa-pradeśāstu śaḍanye vividhāśrayāḥ
Atra dvīpāḥ samākhyātā nānā-ratnākaraḥ kṣitau//13//
Aṅga-dvīpaṃ Jama(?) Java)dvīpaṃ Malaya-dvīpameva ca
Śaṅkha-dvīpaṃ Kuśa-dvīpaṃ Varāha-dvīpameva ca//14//
Aṅga-dvīpaṃ nibodha tvaṃ nānā-saṅgha-samākūlam
Nānā-mleccha-gaṇākīrṇaṃ taddvīpaṃ bahu-vistaram//15//

In the passages quoted as well as in the previous verses, non-Hindu (*mleccha*) aboriginal populations living on fruits and vegetables are referred to. As I propose to devote a separate article on the topic, I do not discuss here the significance of the various data.

2 Various Buddhist images have also been brought to light, but we are not concerned with them in our present article.

from India. For the benefit of scholars, Dr. Bosch had been good enough to publish these Hindu relics from Borneo along with some related images in the Batavia Museum, in the same year (*Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1925, pp. 132-146) anticipating the official report of the Expedition which was not published before 1927.³ Some of these images of stone were found in a cave of Mount Kombeng in the interior of the island, and it has been suggested that they might have been removed from their original site and concealed for safety when their worshippers were pressed by the spread of Islam in the lowlands.

These stone images, characteristically Śaivaite, consist of (1) a standing Mahākāla, (2) a seated Kārttikeya, (3) a seated Gaṇeśa, (4) a broken head of Brahmā, (5) a headless standing image of Agastya (*Śiva-guru*), (6) a seated *Nandī* (bull) and some fragments. In studying these images, Dr. Bosch has also taken into consideration a standing image of Mahādeva (No. 103-f, Museum of Batavia) and a standing image of Nandīśvara (No. 103-g, Museum of Batavia). Dr. Bosch, on a consideration of the style of these images, particularly of the peculiarity of the Kārttikeya image, which is typically Hindu-Javanese, has come to the conclusion that these images must have come from Java, and belong to the Hindu-Javanese School. From this relationship to the Brahmanical images of Java, Dr. Bosch argues against the probability of Hindu Colonists having migrated direct to Borneo. The Editor of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* for 1926 (p. 25) offers some very interesting remarks on Dr. Bosch's conclusions: "The images certainly show an influence derived from a Hindu-Javanese source. Yet on the evidence of certain peculiar features, they can hardly be considered to be the work of artists from Java. We shall have to imagine either a colony of Hindu-Javanese origin, which for a considerable time had lost touch

3 *Midden-Oost-Borneo Expeditie*, 1925, Uitgave van het Indisch Comité voor Wetenschappelijke Onderzoekingen, G. Kolff & Co., Weltevreden, 1927, pp. 391-423.

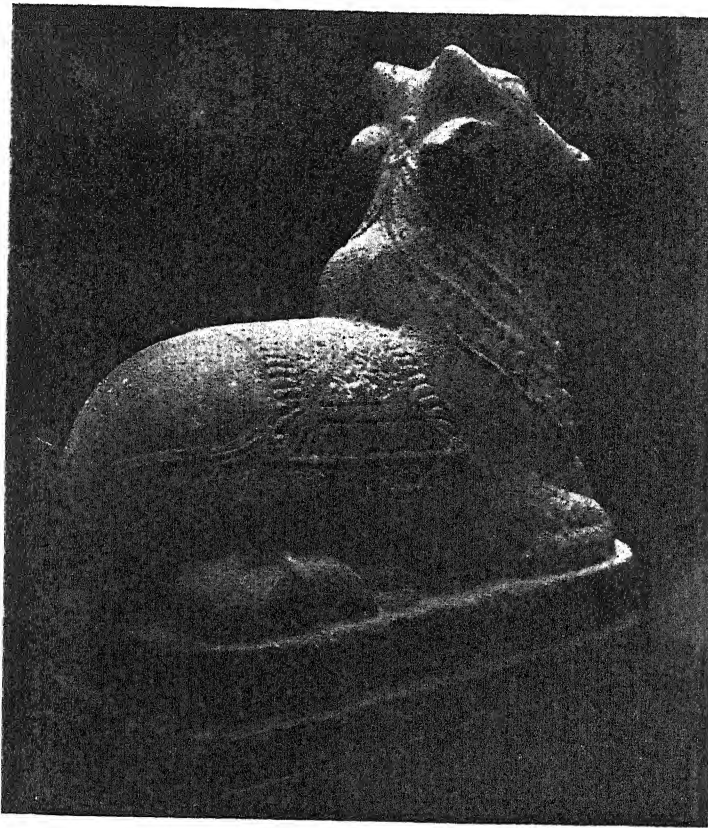


Fig. B. Nandî, Private collection, The Hague.



Fig. C. Nandî, Panca=nathi=kulam, Tanjore.

with the motherland, or a Hinduized indigenous (*viz.*, Dayak) population. The Buddhist images show grave errors and misconceptions. The stone-masons who fashioned these icons must, therefore, have been separated from their co-religionists for a long space of time. The Śaiva figures lead to the same conclusion."

There is some force in this argument, but unless more data are available it is somewhat hazardous to come to a definite conclusion as to the state and extent of Brahmanical culture that prevailed in Borneo, and its exact relation to India proper.

Having strayed into other regions of Indological studies, the writer has been out of touch with Indonesian topics for several years, and has been induced by the learned editor of this Journal to contribute on some Indonesian topic as a tribute, however humble, to the memory of that eminent *savant* the late lamented Prof. Sylvain Lévi, to whom students of the Borobudur *stūpa* are heavily indebted for his valuable identification of the reliefs on the lower stratum of that famous monument.

By a lucky chance the present writer came into possession of a very interesting photograph of a group of Śaiva relics in Borneo which is here reproduced for the first time [Fig. A]. They were found in the estuary of the river Rata (? Rautau) in Central Mahahan. The group, probably belonging to some old Śaivaite shrine, now destroyed, consists of five stone pieces—which are described in the order in which they occur in the photograph: (1) A circular seat in the shape of an upturned lotus, evidently a *vali-piṭha*, a "seat" for the offerings, very frequently met with in Southern Indian shrines. (2) A circular shaft with octagonal faces at the base, placed on a lotus cushion, which is placed on a rectangular base. It looks very like a *liṅgam* which is rather doubtful having regard to the flat truncated appearance of the head and the absence of the *gaūrī-paṭṭa*. (3) Another circular "seat," in the shape of the "knob" of a closed lotus, the petals of which appear in three closely set rows. At the corners are four decorations derived from the

crumpled leaves of a lotus. (4) A rectangular seat with the four corners truncated at four ends, and mounted by a pleated "lid" which carries at the centre a small closed lotus with the top dressed like a circular disc. The protruding figure is evidently a serpent-head—an appropriate *motif* for Śaiva ritual pieces. The 'seat' is evidently a *dīpa-pīṭha*, a place where the devotee places the lighted lamp (*dīpa*) in honour of the deity. (5) The last item in the group is a seated *Nandī*, the bull, the *vāhana* of Śiva, which is an indispensable effigy in all shrines of Śiva, being placed beyond the *vali-pīṭha*, facing the *liṅgam* inside the shrine. Beginning from the Pallava periods, we have numerous representations of the seated *Nandī* in various old mediæval and later Śaiva shrines of South India. The most gigantic in proportion are those occurring at Tanjore (11th century ?) at Rāmeśvaram (16th century ?) and on Cāmuṇḍā Hill, Mysore (18th century ?). The most typical iconographic plastic formula for representing the *Nandī*—is that represented in a series of Cola Sculptures of which a typical example is furnished by a treasure-trove bronze from Pañcanāthikulam, Tanjore District (Gangoly, *South Indian Bronzes*, 1915, Plate LXXXVI). The distinctiveness of the pose consists in the left fore-leg being doubled up, the hoof thereof reaches the hoof of the left hind-leg, while the right fore-leg is spread out in front. The other characteristic feature is the stately poising of the head—on a raised neck,—suggesting an attitude of devout attention to the image inside the shrine. The hump, somewhat overshadowed by the raised head and neck, is clearly indicated sometimes in very significant decorative curves as in the Tanjore example. In the earlier examples, the upraised head is a very distinctive feature. Another iconographic feature is the series of necklaces, and rows of bells, which are elaborately curved in profusion across the spacious necks and across the buttocks passing below the tail. The third peculiarity is the saddle (*pīṭha-vastra*—'covering on the back'=saddle) which is sometimes fastened with elaborately ornamented buckle. If we now turn to a fine example of an Indo-Javanese *Nandī*, of the

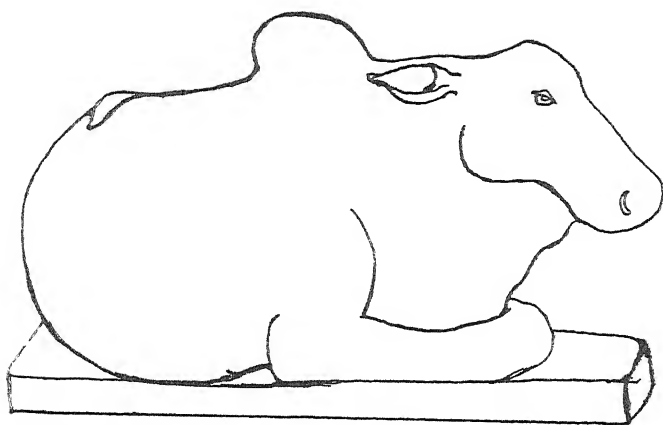


Fig. D. Nandî, Nandi-Temple, Prambanan, Java

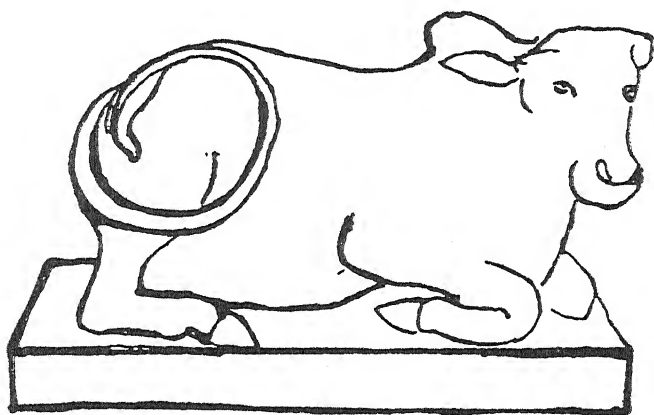


Fig. E. Nandî' Śiva Temple, Candi Banon, Java.

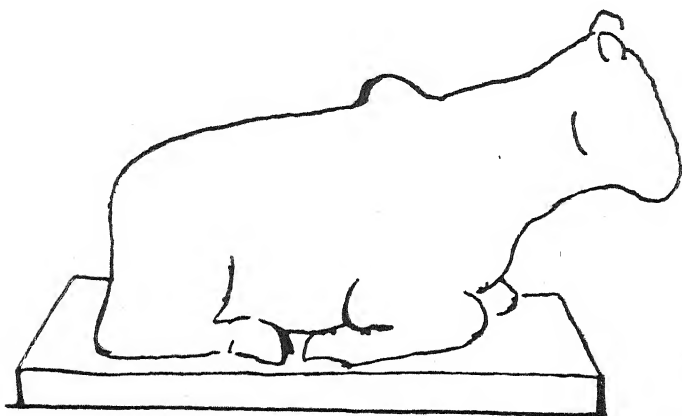


Fig. F. Nandî, Mr. Kombeng, Borneo.



classical period (from a private collection in the Hague, Fig. B), we find that it follows most of the peculiarities of *Nandīs* of the Mid-Cola period of which we may take the Pañcanāthikulam bronze (Fig. C) as a typical piece. The Hague example follows very closely in the foot-steps of the Cola-bronze,—not only in the characteristic upturned head and the poses of the legs, but also in many details of the accessories and ornaments, e.g., the trapping of the *piṭha-vastra* fastened with a 'lion-head' (? *Kīrtimukha*) clasp. This little detail links up the colonial type with the continental models. In later degenerate times, the image-makers lost touch not only with the iconographic canonical texts, but also with classic examples of earlier models. The writer has come across several examples of *Nandīs* in Southern India (of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries) in which the head ceases to sit erect on the shoulders with the gaze affixed on the deity, but droops in a straight line running in a horizontal fashion in continuation of the line of the back, with the hump slightly indicated as in the example occurring in the group from Borneo (Fig. A). In the latter example, the only prominent feature is the row of bells, one round the neck and another hung across the body in a line parallel with the line of the back. If we now compare this example with the Hague specimen (Fig. B), we find it rather hard to deduce the same from the Javanese model. If the Borneo specimen was carved locally it must have had for its model examples different from the typically Javanese types. If we compare the Mahahan example (Fig. A) with one from Mount Kombeng (Fig. F), we find they follow a common model with the head drooping in a line continued from the back, and not set up high as in the other examples cited here. It would be quite possible to argue that these ritual stones found at Mahahan have come from India, as they cannot be said to be decadent forms of the Javanese models. If they have come from Java, they must be taken to be related to late and decadent Indian models of the 18th and 19th centuries and may have come to Borneo from India via Java, as they cannot be related to the Javanese type, as

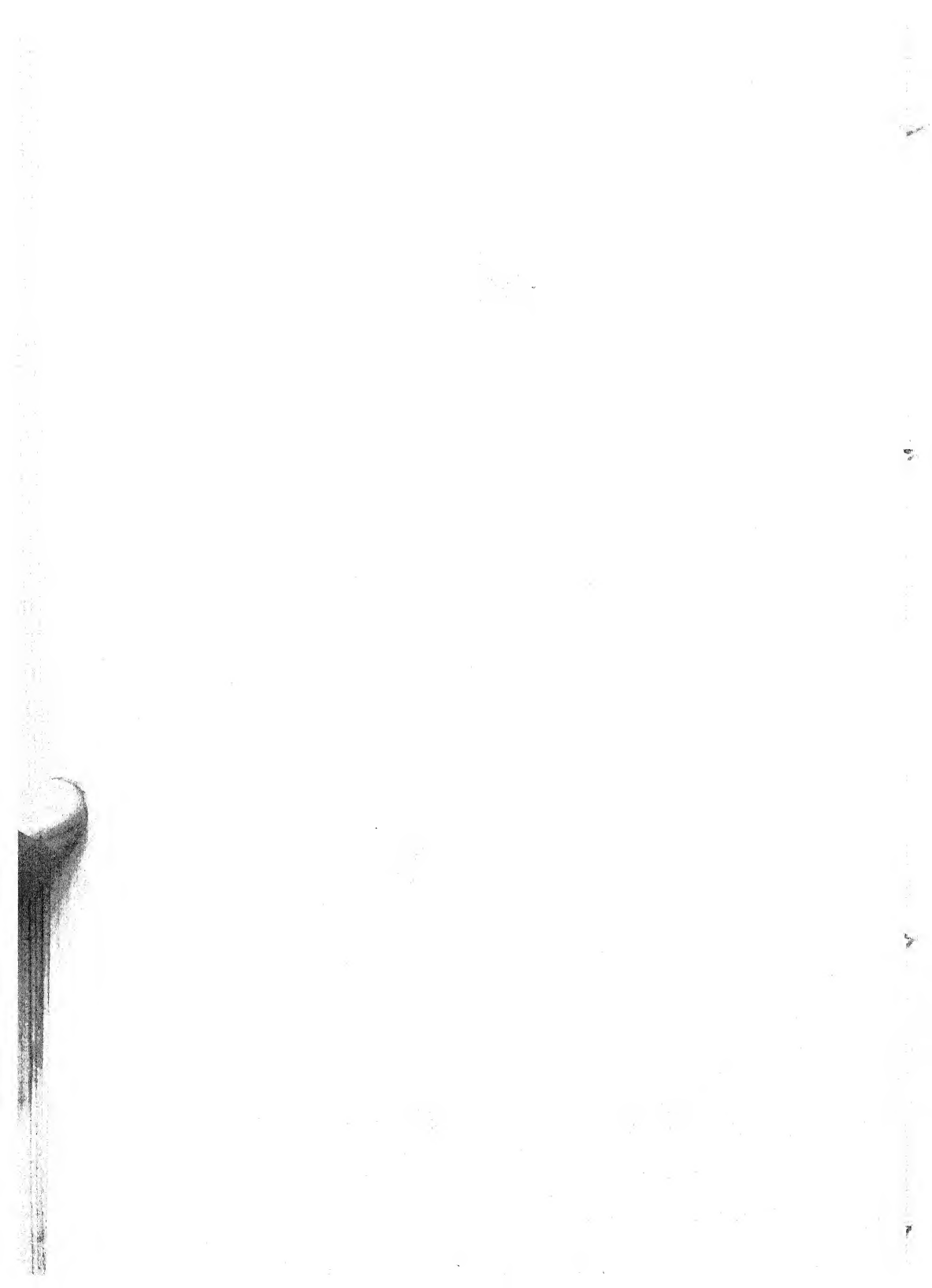
illustrated in the example cited in Fig. B. If they came from India, they seem to suggest the continuation of Indian contact with Borneo up to a very late time. Java was over-run by Islamic culture from the sixteenth century (c. 1515-1526). And as the stone relics in Borneo, we have cited here (Fig. A), cannot be dated earlier than the 17th century, it is unlikely that they could have come from Java—as a living source of Hindu cults, images, or symbols, in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, it is hazardous to accept the form of the *Nandī* cited in Fig. B as the only typical and prevailing type of *Nandīs* current in Java, for we have several examples of the second type with drooping head occurring in connection with Brahmanical monuments in Java. We can cite, at least, two examples which do not follow the type illustrated in the Hague specimen (Fig. B). One is an effigy of the Bull represented at the back of the standing Śiva from Gandi Banon (datable about the first half of the 9th century, *vide* Plate 83, *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheid-kudung onderzoek*, 1905-06, p. 16) from which we have borrowed Fig. E. The second example (Fig. D) is borrowed from the well-known Śiva shrine in the group of Brahmanical sanctuaries at Prambanam (late ninth century) where *Nandī* has been assigned a special shrine (*vide* Plate 124, *Rapporten*, 1909). Both these examples, differing from the Hague specimen, have their heads drooping and not sitting erect on the shoulders. And it is easy to argue that the two Borneo *nandīs* may have for their ancestors the type represented by the two 9th century examples from Banon and Prambanam, and that the Brahmanical images might have come from Java or might have been made on the models provided by Javanese specimens, and a direct contact with India is not an inevitable inference. It may also be argued that the examples of *Nandī* with head erect (Figs. B & C) represent a different iconographic type, to be distinguished from the types with drooping head illustrated in Figs. D, E and F. The former type represents a typical devotee perennially worshipping the Lord Śiva, by fixing his gaze on the image and this type is frequently represented



Fig. G. Nandi, Polonnarwva, Ceylon.]



Fig. H. Nandi, Camundi Hill, Mysore.



in the courtyard of a Śiva temple, with its face turned straight towards the image in the sanctum. The second type (Figs. D, E and F) represents *vāhana*, the mount of Śiva, and is generally placed behind the image as part of the iconographic image of Śiva conceived as *Vṛṣa-vāhana*—'He whose mount is the bull'. In the latter representation the Bull in its aspect of a typical devotee is not emphasized as in the other representation. The two types—one with head erect and the other with a drooping head, therefore, represent two different iconographic conceptions, and may not represent stylistic differences—on which any chronological argument could be validly founded. The two other examples here cited for comparison (Figs. G & H) also represent the type of the devotee. So that before more reliable data are available, it is not possible to state whether Borneo received its Hindu culture direct from India or indirectly from Java. The data of the *purāṇas* appear to suggest that India's contact with Borneo was earlier than the date of her contact with Java.

A South Indian Portrait Bronze from Sumatra

By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

The bronze that forms the subject of this paper was discovered in 1930 by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch¹ in a Biaro (cf. *Vihāra*) in Padang Lawas, Tapanoeli, near the wall enclosing the temple on the western side. It is the image of a woman; it is 19.5 c.m. in height and is now in the Batavian Museum. It deserves to be better known than it is, and I believe that no apology is needed for discussing the image here, as the only notice of it known to me is in the archaeological report of Dr. Bosch (written in Dutch) for the year 1930. I may state once for all that I am indebted to that report for very much of what follows as well as for the photographs of the image that accompany this paper.

Dr. Bosch describes the image in the following words: "The figure stands on a plain circular plate; the clothing of the lower half of the body shows transverse stripes, with an irregular pattern between them formed by small circlets and nailhead pits impressed on the metal; the upper half of the body is naked; smooth rings round ankles, wrists, elbows and arms; a garland of beads encircling the neck twice and hanging in a loop between the breasts; the left hand (exaggerated in the photograph² and not larger than normal) in a sort of *Vitarākamudrā*; the right hand open, with the palm turned upside, wherein is a small round object (lotus bud); ears with long lobes bored through; the hair drawn smooth over the head, and gathered behind and tied into a bun; long nose; small mouth; a small *urṇā* on the forehead. Beautiful deep-green patina."

1 *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1930, Bijlage C.

2 This I suppose is due to this part of the image being covered by a thicker layer of patina.

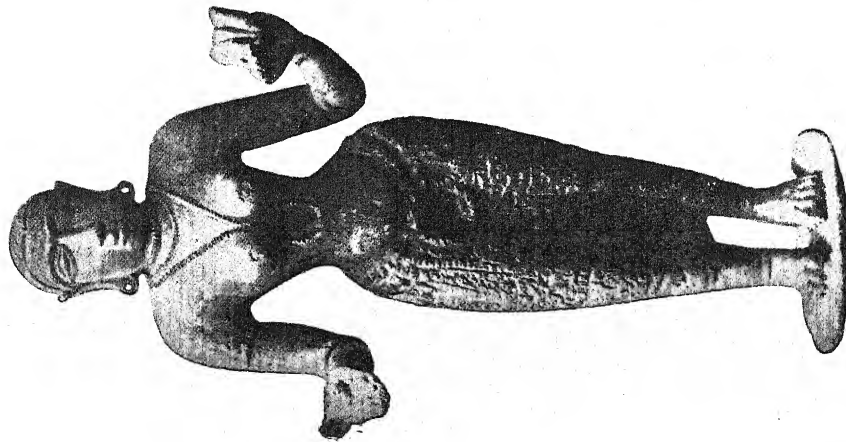


Fig. 1. (a)

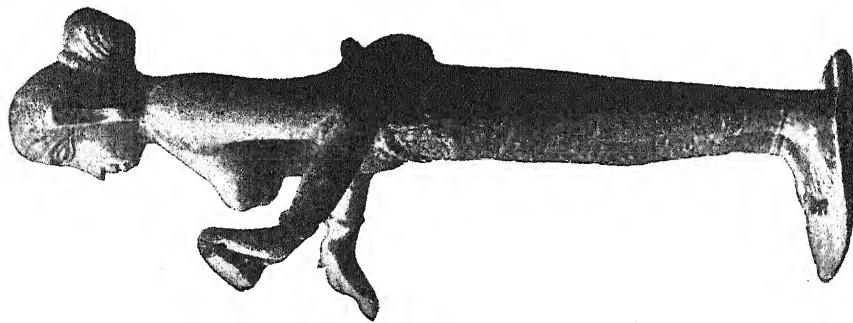


Fig. 1. (b)

Two views of the bronze statuette, h. 19.5 c.m., from Padang Lawas, Tapanoeli, Sumatra. (From the Oudheidkundig Verslag, 1930, pl. 38).

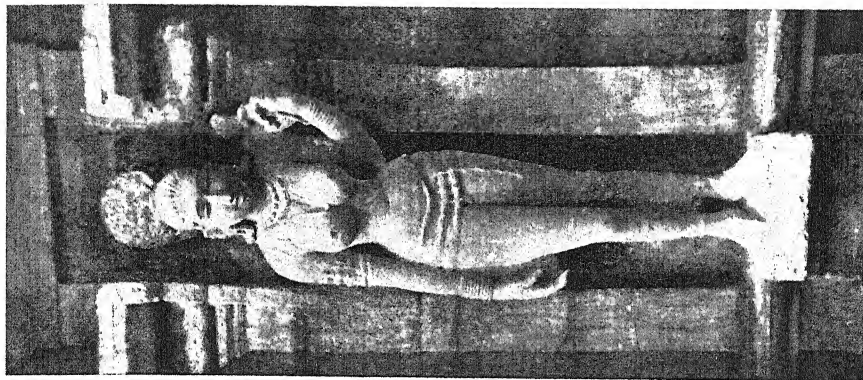


Fig. 2.

Sculpture of a woman, stone, from Kumbakonam. Copyright, A.S.I.

The style of the image bespeaks its South Indian origin; the features, the bust and the formation of the limbs, the coiffure, the low forehead and almond eyes, the long nose and small mouth—all conform to the ideals of feminine beauty familiar to the South Indian plastic art. When the image was referred to Mr. A. H. Longhurst for his opinion as to its age and *provenance*, he wrote: "I should imagine the female figure represents a portrait statuette of a lady who made a gift to the *vihāra*. The style of the image suggests the 15th century as its probable age. In pose and dress, the figure is not unlike the *Satī* images of the 16th century and earlier, so common in this presidency, but of course, the style of dress and coiffure were common long before that period, and both may still be seen in Malabar at the present day."³

Dr. Bosch draws pointed attention to the absence of a lotus pedestal and other tokens of divinity or even of high birth; and he argues that the simplicity of the clothing may be due to the fact that a person of rather low birth is portrayed here and that this bronze might have originally been one of two attendants on either side of a central figure, a divinity or a princely donor of the *vihāra*. He also remarks that the treatment of the dress in this bronze is unique among Indian images. He therefore refrains from making any attempt to determine the particular school to which the image may be assigned, or to determine its age more closely, though he observes that we can hardly believe that so late as the fifteenth century Buddhism was still so flourishing in Padang Lawas, and that we shall have to assign the image to an earlier period than does Mr. Longhurst, with the tenth century as the highest limit, for it was then that the heyday of the art of casting bronzes began.

At a later stage in his report,⁴ Dr. Bosch develops the hypothesis that a Buddhist art developed in Padang Lawas which differed considerably from Hindu-Javanese art, and that it did so under the stimulus of a fresh stream of cultural influences flowing in directly from South India and exemplified by the well-known Lokanātha bronze of A.D.

3 OV. 1930, p. 137.

4 Pp. 145-48.

1024, the Coġa invasion of the Archipelago under Rajendra I, the fragmentary Tamil inscription of Loboē Toea, the inscription of Porlak Dolok and so on.

Everyone knows how little definite knowledge we have of the history of sculpture in South India and how difficult and risky it is to assign definite dates to bronzes. Still I venture to think that this bronze, while it may belong to the period so ably advocated for it by Dr. Bosch, might well be even earlier. If we just ignore the little problem raised by the treatment of the clothing, we shall find that the statuette is a very attractive and simple piece of work, which, like all good works of art, impresses more by the perfection of its modelling than by attention to detail or ornament. I would invite comparison with a large stone figure of a woman—also clearly a portrait—from Kumbakonam. The statue, nearly life-size, belongs almost certainly to the tenth century A.D.; in the disposition of dress and coiffure (though not in their patterns) and in the absence of a lotus pedestal or other marks of divinity or royalty, it resembles our statuette. But there are seen many more bangles, collars and necklaces in the stone figure than in our bronze. Another large statue, this is of metal and 4 feet 9½ inches, with which our bronze may be usefully compared, is that of Paṭṭini, figured by A. K. Coomaraswamy as No. 48 in his *Viśvakarmā*, first series. The pose of the hands, the plain pedestal, and the disposition of the *dhoti* have clear and striking resemblances to our bronze, while the total lack of ornaments is perhaps in keeping with the early age, to which Coomaraswamy is inclined to ascribe it, seventh century A.D.; but it may also be that no ornaments are shown on this Paṭṭini image as it depicts the chaste wife apotheosized in her widowhood. In any event, the possibility that bronze casting had a long history in South India before the 10th century A.D. should not be left out of account in discussions on the chronology of bronzes.

The very peculiar pattern shown on the cloth in the Sumatran bronze may be intended to represent some kind of flowered cloth or silk.

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

EDITED BY
U. N. GHOSHAL, PH.D.

Vol. II, 1935

*Printed at the Calcutta Oriental Press and Published by
the Hony. Secretary, Greater India Society.*

CALCUTTA.



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CONTENTS

Volume II, 1935

Articles	Page
Celebes Bronze Buddha	76
By Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra, Ph. D.	
Contributions from the <i>Mahāvamśa</i> to our knowledge of the Mediaeval Culture of Ceylon ...	89
By Dr. Wilh. Geiger, Ph. D.	
Decline and Fall of the Śailendras	12
By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M. A., Ph. D.	
Identification of Śrī Viṣṇuvarman of the Perak Seal	71
By Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra, Ph. D.	
Influx of Indian Sculpture into Fu-nan ...	122
By Dr. Ludwig Bachhofer, Ph. D.	
Migration of Indian Decorative Motifs ...	37
By Devaprasad Ghosh, M. A., P. R. S.	
Old-Javanese Copper-plates from Sidoteka of the Śaka year 1245	131
By Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, M. A.	
Old-Javanese Inscription from Penampihan of the Śaka year 1191	55
By Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, M. A.	
Śailendravarṃśa	25
By Dr. J. Przyluski, D. Litt.	
Sanskrit Manual of Tsoṅkhapist Worship ...	128
By Dr. E. Obermiller, Ph. D.	
Sanskrit MS. from Tibet—Kamalaśīla's <i>Bhāvanā-krama</i>	1
By Dr. E. Obermiller, Ph. D.	

Sanskrit treatise by a Tibetan author	...	47
By Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya		
Veda and Avesta	... ..	112
By Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Ph. D., D. Litt.		

Miscellany	83, 168
-------------------	--------	---------

Notices of Books

<i>Archaeology in Gwalior</i> (Dr. U. N. Ghoshal)	...	80
<i>Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale</i> (C. Riaudo)	... ..	77
<i>De Indische Cultuurstroom</i> (Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra)		165
<i>Guide to the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior</i> (Dr. U. N. Ghoshal)	... ..	81
<i>Indo-Tibetica</i> , III (P. N. Roy)	... ..	164
<i>Midden-Oost Borneo-Expedite 1925</i> (B. G.)	...	163
<i>Nawaruci</i> (B. G.)	... ..	162
<i>Peking Editon of the Tibetan Kanjur</i> (V. Bhattacharya)		161
<i>Two recent reconstructions of a Sanskrit Hymn transliterated with Chinese characters</i> (V. Bhattacharya)	... ..	159

Obituary Notices

Gabriel Ferrand (Dr. Kalidas Nag, D. Litt.)	...	169
Louis Finot (Dr. Kalidas Nag, D. Litt.)	...	170

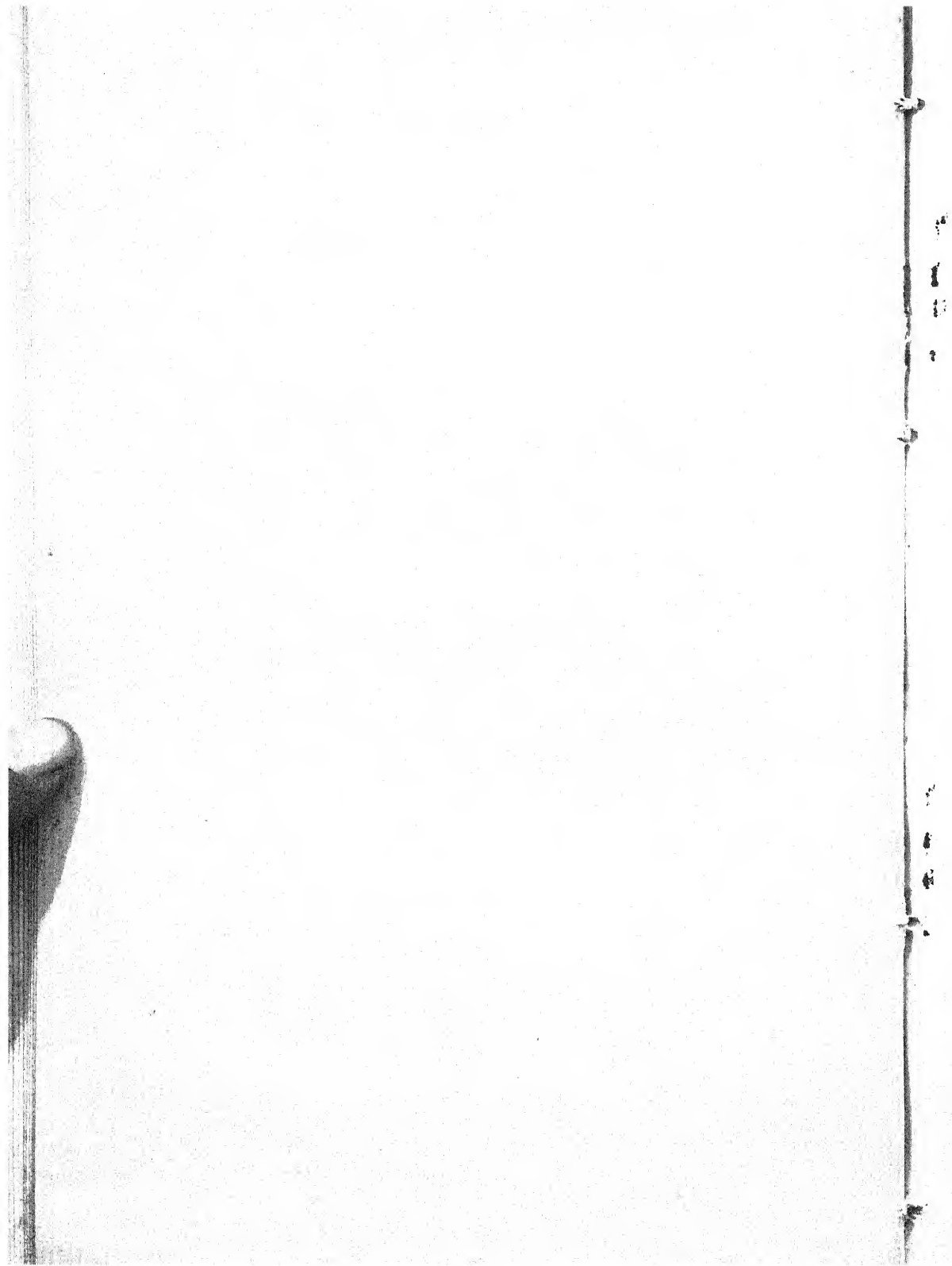
Select Contents of Oriental Journals	...	86, 174
---	-----	---------

Plates		Facing page
---------------	--	-------------

<i>Caitya</i> -window, Bhuvaneśvara, Orissa. India	...	38
<i>Caitya</i> -arch, Central Java	... ..	38
<i>Caitya</i> -arch, T'ang dynasty, China	... ..	38
<i>Caitya</i> -arch, Yuan dynasty, China	... ..	38
<i>Caitya</i> -arch, Lycia, Asia Minor	... ..	42
<i>Kirttimukha</i> , Koṇārak, India	... ..	42
<i>Kirttimukha</i> , Pagan, Burma	... ..	42
<i>Kirttimukha</i> , Lung-Men, China	... ..	42

Alphabetical List of Contributors

Bachhofer, Dr. Ludwig, Ph. D. ...	122
<i>The Influx of Indian Sculpture into Funan</i>	
Bhattacharya, Pandit Vidhushekhara ...	47
<i>A Sanskrit treatise by a Tibetan author</i>	
Chhabra, Dr. B. Ch., Ph. D. ...	71
<i>Identification of Śrī Viṣṇuvarman of the Perak Seal</i>	
<i>Ibid, The Celebes Bronze Buddha</i> ...	76
Geiger, Dr. Wilh., Ph. D.	
<i>Contributions from the Mahāvamśa to our knowledge of the Mediaeval Culture of Ceylon</i> ...	
	89
Ghosh, Dr. Batakrishna, Ph. D., D. Litt.	
<i>Veda and Avesta</i> ...	
	112
Ghosh, Devaprasad, M. A., P. R. S.	
<i>Migration of Indian Decorative Motifs</i> ...	
	37
Majumdar, Dr. R. C., M. A., Ph. D.	
<i>Decline and Fall of the Śailendras</i> ...	
	12
Obermiller, Dr. E., Ph. D.	
<i>A Sanskrit MS. from Tibet : Kamalaśīla's Bhāvanā-krama</i> ...	
	1
<i>Ibid, A Sanskrit Manual of Tsonkhapist Worship</i>	128
Przyluski, Dr. J., D. Litt.	
<i>The Śailendravamśa</i> ...	
	25
Sarkar, Himansu Bhusan, M. A.	
<i>An Old-Javanese Inscription from Penampihan of the Śaka year 1191</i> ...	
	55
<i>Ibid, The Old-Javanese Copper-plates from Sidoṭṭhka of the Śaka year 1245</i> ...	131



After what has been said so far, I think it will be seen that there is no definite reason to assume that this bronze must have been detached from a group of three. The image may be the portrait of a benefactress or merely of a devotee. Hindu iconography, as is well known,⁵ permits of metallic images of devotees being set up and worshipped in temples. Lastly, the image may not have been cast in Sumatra, but carried from South India,⁶ in which case it will be no evidence of the growth of a more or less independent school of Buddhist art in Padang Lawas.

5 Gopinatha Rao, *Elements* II, ii. pp. 474 and Appendix 236.

6 Cf. OV. 1930, p. 138.

NOTES

Literary and Epigraphic Notes

By Himansu Bhusan Sarkar

I. *A Sanskrit Grammar of Bengal in Java*

Prof. Krom published the text of the copper-plate no. 3 of Śekar, Bajanegara, in the TBG., 53, pp. 433-434. In lines 5-6 of this record (second face) we come across the following interesting statement :

“*dharmmādhyakṣa ring ṣasogatan, dang ācāryya nādendra, sang āryyādhirāja, boddhapakṣa, tārkkacandra-uyākaraṇaparisaṁāpta,*” i.e., the superintendent of the Buddhist institutions (*viz.*) dang ācāryya Nādendra (called) āryyādhirāja who belonged to the sect of the Buddhists and had finished the (lore of the) sceptical science (*tarkka*) and the grammar of Candra (*Cāndravyākaraṇa*).....

The record under review was composed after 1365 A.D. Now this Buddhist Nādendra or Nādajña was identified by Prof. Krom with Prapañca, the writer of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*.¹ Controverting the opinion of Prof. Krom, Dr. Poerbatjaraka² held that Nādajña was no other than the father of Prapañca and the son of Kankamuni. Whoever he was, he is mentioned in several inscriptions³ and he undoubtedly flourished during the reign of king Hayam Wuruk in the second half of the fourteenth century A.D. In the present paper we are concerned with his accomplishments in the science of grammar which has been explicitly specified here as *Cāndravyākaraṇa*. Now this grammar was written by the celebrated Buddhist scholar Candragemini and

1 TBG, 57 (1916), p. 30.

2 BKI, 78, pp. 442-459.

3 See the inscription on the Mahākṣobhya image of Simpang (Surabaya) in Kern, *VG.*, VII, p. 187ff (this has been re-edited by Poerbatjaraka in *BKI*, 78, 1922), the Trawulan inscription I in *OV*, 1918, Bijalge K, etc.

it enjoyed an unparalleled reputation in and outside India. It is closely connected with the work of Pāṇini though it breathes an independent spirit here and there. The earliest reference to this Cāndra school of grammarians occurs in Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadiya*. Hemacandra also in the compilation of his own grammar not only utilised the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and its commentaries but also the grammars of Candra, Śaka-ṭāyana, Bhoja, Vāmana, Jinendra, Indragomin, the Kātantra, etc. Dr. Liebig, who edited the *Cāndravākyāraṇa* (*Die grammatik des Candragomin: Sūtra, Uṇādi, Dhātupāṭha*, Leipzig, 1902) pointed out the interesting fact that the *Dhātupāṭha* of the Kātantra (or *Kalāpaṭha*, *Kalāpasūtra*, *Kaumāravākyāraṇa*) was in reality that of the Cāndra-system as modified by Durgasiṃha, the illustrious commentator on the Kātantra.

In Nepal have been found many important treatises connected with the grammar of Candra. Several texts and commentaries of this work dated between 700 and 900 A.D. are preserved in the *Tangyur*. Just as we find references to the study of this grammar in Nepal and Tibet, so also was this work extant in Ceylon, though no original manuscript of this book has been discovered there so far. This is probably due to the fact that about 1200 A.D. a Ceylonese Buddhist monk, Kāśyapa by name, wrote a popular recast of the Cāndra grammar called *Bālāvabodha* which superseded the original Cāndra text. It was published from Colombo in 1895. The reference to the study of this grammar in Java in the fourteenth century A.D. brings therefore an additional testimony to the influence exerted by this great grammar in a far-flung colony of ancient India. But what invests the reference in the Javanese inscription with special importance is the fact that this Candragomin belonged to the school of Asaṅga and is known from Tibetan sources to have been born in Varendrī or North Bengal.⁴ It has been further stated that Candradvipa in Bengal was named after that Buddhist savant. It is difficult to say however when this grammar was carried to Java. The Kelurak and the

4 Schiefner, *Tāranāth*, pp. 148ff and 159ff.

Nālandā inscriptions, the quotation from *Veṇīsaṃhāra* in the old Javanese *Mahābhārata*, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* of 1365 A.D., etc., no doubt suggest the contact between Java and Bengal, but to assign the penetration of this grammar in Java to any particular epoch is still premature. As Candragomin probably lived in the sixth century A.D.,⁵ all that we can say at the present moment is that the itinerary of the grammar began from this time onwards, very probably in the Pāla period. As Tāranāth says,⁶ "From that time till now Candragomin's work has spread widely inasmuch as orthodox as well as heterodox people study it; but the *Samantabhadra*⁷ disappeared soon, and it is not known if any copy of it still exists." The old Javanese inscription referred to above throws therefore a welcome light on the cultural contact between Java and Bengal during the epoch of Hayam Wuruk.

II. *King Dharmmasetu and the homeland of the Śailendras*

In 1929, Dr. Stutterheim made some novel and bold assertions in his *A Javanese period in Sumatran history* and these were severely criticised, particularly by Bosch⁸ and Mus.⁹ For want of more data which could be utilised on that occasion, the critics left undecided the problems relating to Dharmmasetu, and these form the subject of the present review. It was stated by Stutterheim¹⁰ that Dharmmasetu of the Nālandā inscription¹¹ is no other than the celebrated Pāla king Dharmmapāla and that he has been mentioned in the Kalasan and Kelurak inscriptions under the name of Dharmmasetu. Even if we admit that the

5 On his date see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1899, pp. 308-315 : *IA.*, 1896, pp. 103-105; *Ibid.*, 1890, p. 319; Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, pp. 58-59.

6 Schiefner, *Op. cit.*, pp. 152, 155.

7 The grammar written by Candrakīrti.

8 *TBG.*, 69, pp. 138-151.

9 *BEFEO*, 28, pp. 515-528.

10 *A Javanese period*, etc., pp. 10-12 with foot-notes.

11 *Et. XVII*, pp. 310-327. It was also published as a *Memoir of the Varendra Research Society* by N. G. Majumdar.

reading of that name in the Nālandā charter Hirananda Sastri is correct,¹² it has still to be considered that the śloka in which the name appears in the Kalasan inscription is extremely stereotyped¹³ and occurs in the self-same language in at least a dozen inscriptions of India. For this reference may be made to: the Kadamba inscription of Niralgi, dated 996-97 Śaka (*El.*, XVI, p. 71), the records of the Somavaṃśī kings of Kaṭak (*El.*, III, pp. 343, 353, 358), the Vanapalli plates of Anna Vema, 1300 Śaka-saṃvat (*El.*, III, p. 63), the plate of Govindacandra of Kanauj, dated 1182 Vikrama-saṃvat (*El.*, IV, pp. 99-101). [See also *El.*, V, p. 19; *El.*, XVI, p. 228; *El.*, XVIII, p. 232; *El.*, XX, p. 69]. It is certain, therefore, that Dharmmasetu of Kalasan and Kelurak inscriptions has nothing to do with its namesake in the Nālandā charter and the identification has to be dropped. While this stereotyped passage perhaps removes the base of Stutterheim's thesis, it also throws some side-light on the origin of the Śailendra kings of Indonesia. The original distribution of the plates mentioned above appears to be Eastern and Southern India, including the Orissan tracts. The occurrence of the above-mentioned stereotyped passage in an inscription of the Śailendra dynasty thus becomes interesting in connexion with the view of Dr. Majumdar¹⁴ that the Śailendras originated from Kalinga, which indeed forms an enclave between Eastern and Southern India.

III. *The date of a copper-plate (Mus. Solo, No. 193)*

Dr. Poerbatjaraka published the transcription of a record in *OV.*, 1922, Bijl. L. and stated that it was promulgated in 849 Śaka. Dr. Goris,¹⁵ however, proposed to read the year

12 N. G. Majumdar reads: Varmasetu.

13 The śloka runs as follows:

“sarvān evāgāmināḥ pārthivendrān
bhūyo bhūyo yācate rājasiphaḥ/
sāmānyo' yaṃ dharmmasetur narāṇām
kāle kāle pālāniyo bhavadbhiḥ//

14 *BEFEO*, XXXIII, pp. 140-141. 15 *OV*, 1928, pp. 64, 65.

as 829, but this has recently been contested by Stutterheim¹⁶ who subscribes to the reading of Poerbatjaraka. An examination of the contents of the inscription shows, however, that the reading of Dr. Goris is probably the correct one. Because, among the officials mentioned in the record under review, we find Ḍapit, Rayung and Dhānada who are only noticed in inscriptions of 829 Śaka or within a few years of this date. In some inscriptions prior to 849 Śaka, their posts are held by other persons. Their appearance after 20 years in a single charter is extremely doubtful and furnishes a new argument for the reading of Goris. The attention of the Dutch and Indonesian scholars is invited to this point.

16 TBG., 75, p. 421, f.n. 1

On the Source of the Old-Javanese Rāmāyana Kakawin

By Manomohan Ghosh

While going through the *Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali*¹ I found the author drawing attention to a passage² in canto II of the *Kakawin*³ of Yogīśvara which resembled very much a stanza in canto II of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. The passage of the *Kakawin*, as we learn from an English translation of the Dutch version of the same by Kern, runs as follows :

"There was no watery place which was without lotuses. There were no lotuses which were not full of bees, and the bees were buzzing. There were no bees which would allow their songs go unheard."

The passage in the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* is as follows :

Na taj-jalaṃ yan-na sucārupaṅkajaṃ
Na paṅkajaṃ tad-yad-alinaṣaṭpadaṃ/
Na ṣaṭpado' sau na juguṇja yaḥ kalaṃ
Na guṇjitaṃ tan-na jahāra yan manah//.

The striking similarity between the two passages even after one of them had to pass through the media of two different languages convinced me that the similarity might not be quite accidental and Yogīśvara, the author of the *Kakawin*, was most probably acquainted with the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* itself. Mr. Sarkar however did not view the similarity between the two passages in this light probably because of Kern's remark that the author of the Old Javanese *Kakawin* did not know

1 Published by the Greater India Society, 1934.

2 *Indian Influences*, p. 180.

3 Placed by scholars sometime between 950 and 1300 A.C. Mr. Sarkar suggests (*Ibid.*, p. 175) 1094 A.C. as the likely date of composition of this work.

Sanskrit.⁴ But as I found from the excellent summary of the first nineteen cantos of the *Kakawin* given in Mr. Sarkar's work, that the passages occurred as the 19th strophe in canto II of both the works I could no longer consider Kern's opinion about Yogīśvara's ignorance of Sanskrit as conclusive. I strongly suspected that Yogīśvara was not only acquainted with Sanskrit and the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* in the original but that his *Kakawin* might have been a translation of this *Kunst-epos* into the old Javanese language. This hypothesis led me to examine thoroughly the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* in the light of the excellent digest of the *Kakawin* (up to its 19th canto) given by Mr. Sarkar.⁵ This examination has yielded the following results:

1. The plot of the subject matter of the first five cantos is, even in detail, in wonderful agreement with that of the first five cantos of the *Kakawin*. But for the fact that the number of stanzas or strophes in the corresponding cantos of the two works is not equal we might consider one work (up to its 4th canto) to be a sort of replica of the other. The number in the first four cantos of the two works is as follows:

			<i>Bhaṭṭi</i>	<i>Kakawin</i>
I	...	...	27	59
II	...	...	55	77
III	...	...	56	46
IV	...	...	45	above 58

2. The strophes in canto V of the *Kakawin* which describe the appearance of Rāvaṇa in the Pañcavaṇī in the guise of an ascetic contain expressions marvellously similar to those in the corresponding passages of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. Thus we have in the *Kakawin*:—

"He resembled a pure and upright Śaiva monk, virtuous and holy; his head was smoothly shaved except for a little tuft of hair on the crown.

4 *Indian Influences*, p. 174.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 179-94.

"His teeth were as white as crystal. He expected to get a garland of roses(?)⁶ and a bowl of pumpkin to attach to his shoulder belt. His monkish robe was beautifully red and dyed with lac. He proceeded to ask for alms, by which pretext he could conceal his (base) design.

"While moving on, he mumbled his prayers and had pious words in his lips. His glance was gentle and loving—it was outwardly very friendly and captivating, as if nothing remained of his demoniac character. Without any interruption, he wended through the beautiful and solitary woodland."

The corresponding passages in the *Bhaṭṭi* are as follows :

Gate tasmin *jalaśuciḥ śuddhadan Rāvaṇaḥ śikhī* //
Jañjapūko' kṣamālāvān dhārayo mṛdalābunaḥ // (61)
Kamaṇḍalukaṭapālena śirasā mṛjāvātā/
Samvastrya lākṣike vastre mātṛāḥ saṃbhāṇḍya
daṇḍavān // (62)

Adhiyann-ātmavid vidyām dhārayan maskarivratam/
Vadan bahvaṅgulispotaṃ bhrūkshepaṃ vilokayan // (63)
Sandidarśayiṣuḥ sāma nījhnūṣuḥ kṣapaṭatām/
Caṃkramāvān samāgatya Sītām-ūce sukhā bhava // (64)

One can easily notice that expressions italicised in the *Bhaṭṭi* passages have been almost literally translated in the *Kakawin*, the author of which appears to have taken as much from the *Bhaṭṭi* as he could easily assimilate in his work. A literal versified translation is surely an almost impossible task. Thus it may be assumed that Yogīśvara while writing the *Kakawin* had the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* before him and adopted the theme of the latter in its details and, as often as possible, number of expressions as well.

There is yet another passage in canto V of the *Kakawin* which betrays a connection with the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. It deals with the conversation between Sītā and Rāvaṇa and is as follows :

6 Either the Dutch translation or the English version seems to be wrong here.

"Moon's beauty cannot be compared with yours, because her charms pass off by the time of the day.

"If the lotus-flowers of the pond.....they cannot yet stand comparison with your beauty; because they close down and decline on the approach of the night.

"The place where you live is really dangerous, impossible for men, a wilderness! Do you not fear the malicious snakes and wild elephants?.....

"You are so exceedingly soft and tender and really so charming; the wood has been, as it were, delighted by your presence. How fortunate is the man, who had been acknowledged by you as your husband! He must deserve some praises for possessing you at the present moment.

"I have travelled through other lands of this world, but I have never come across any one like you; so beautiful you are indeed! You appear to me at least the most perfect type of beauty, and my present life is not going to be useless now that I have known you."

With this should be compared the following stanzas from the *Bhaṭṭi*:

Sāyantaniṃ tithipraṇyaḥ paṅkajānāṃ divātānīm/
Kāntiṃ kāntyā sadātanyā hreṇyanti śucismitā// (65)

Kā tvam-ekākinī bhīru niranvayajane vane/
Kṣudhyanto'pyaghasan vyālās-tvām-apālāṃ
kathaṃ na vā// (66)

Hṛdayaṅgama-mūrttis-tvaṃ subhagambhāvukam
vanam/

Kurvāṇā bhīmam-apyetad vadā'bhyaiḥ
kena hetunā// (67)

Sukṛtaṃ priyakārī tvaṃ kaṃ rahasy-upatiṣṭhase/
Puṇyakṛc-cāṭukāras-te kiṃkaraḥ surateṣu kaḥ// (68)

Pari-paryudadhe rūpaṃ ādyulokāc-ca durlabham/
Bhāvatkaṃ dṛṣṭavatsvetad-asmāsvadhi sujīvitam// (69)

Now the *Bhaṭṭi* strophes, quoted above, show beyond doubt that the author of the *Kaṇawin* has deliberately copied the contents of the *Bhaṭṭi* and at times made literal translation of some expressions. Due to the fact that Sanskrit

strophes of *Bhaṭṭi* had sometimes to be expanded and sometimes original strophes were composed, the number of strophes in the *Kakawin* and the *Bhaṭṭi* is not identical. The former work contains 2771 strophes⁷ and the latter only 1624.

3. An examination of cantos VI-XIX of the *Kakawin* reveals that unlike the first five ones their subject-matter does not correspond canto by canto to that of the *Bhaṭṭi* and moreover the *Kakawin* has 26 cantos while the *Bhaṭṭi* has only 22.

Thus we can conclude finally that the old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* is partially a translation and partially an adaptation of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and has nothing to do with the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki or its conjectured extinct translation in the old Javanese.⁸

7 Dr. Poerbatjaraka thinks that some interpolations occur in the *Kakawin*. This may be one of the reasons for its greater bulk. See *Indian Influences*, p. 173.

8 For conjectures about the origin of the *Kakawin* see *Indian Influences*, p. 174.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Indian Influences in Old-Balinese Art By Dr. W. F. Stutterheim—42 pp., 23 plates.—The India Society, London, 1935.

In this latest publication of the India Society, Dr. Stutterheim has put within a short compass of 42 pages the leading facts connected with the history and culture of Bali—one of the most beautiful and interesting islands in Indonesia, recently very much exploited by tourists. To Indians that mysterious little island, still a replica of Hindu India of early times, with its simple faith, primitive rites and native social customs and life, is of peculiar interest—as it visualises in a living form a typical image of Ancient India—which has passed away on the continent. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee wrote a series of letters to the Bengali monthly *Pravāsi*, in which he gave a graphic description of Balinese life with very intimate and picturesque details, and in which he showed how many old Hindu customs and ritual-practices still survived in Bali mostly in pristine forms and sometimes adapted to the old animistic beliefs of the old Balinese races. Dr. Chatterjee has shown by an analysis of numerous phases of Balinese life how Hinduism almost completely imbued the pre-Hinduistic culture of Bali. Dr. Stutterheim's book, apparently a *rechauffé* of his Dutch work *Oudheden van Bali* published by Bali Society for the scientific study of Balinese history and culture (*Kirtya Liefcrinck—van der Tuuk, Singaradja, Bali*), is an excellent introduction to the history of the art and culture of the island and will undoubtedly provoke further studies. And all lovers of Indian culture are grateful to the author for offering in this book in a readable and accessible form the main outlines of Balinese culture—the material for which is buried in numerous archaeological reports and learned articles in antiquarian Journals. The records of the antiquities of Bali are not as numerous as those of Java, and the available inscriptions and copper plates have not yet been fully studied. The

author is therefore compelled to leave many spaces blank and to fill in some of them on the basis of analogy and probabilities. Before the advent of Hinduism, Bali, peopled by a branch of the Austronesian family (to which the Muṇḍās of India belong), had not much by way of a political organization. Its simple life was divided into groups of village communities—governed by elders who performed the double function of priests and administrative heads, in a peculiar form of ancestor worship. "Daily life was directed by the souls of the departed ancestors who were supposed to be dwelling in the mountains. It was they who lived on at the hidden sources of the rivers, without whose waters no rice would grow. They were the founders of the village communities; they had established its customs and cared for its growth (*Ibid.*, p. 2)." The living elders of the community were charged with the duty of "getting into contact with the souls of the dead, to receive them temporarily into themselves in order to replenish the waning store of the community's life-power or to furnish it with extra strength" (*Ibid.*, p. 2). When the souls of the dead ancestors were invoked, they were believed "to provide the community with the absolutely necessary magic life-power; to further the growth of rice; to calm the devastating overflowing streams; to subdue epidemics afflicting the population." (*Ibid.*, p. 3). The sacred acts (*śrāddhas*) of invoking the spirits of the ancestors by offering oblations (*balis*, *naivedyas*) were performed in temples—which were enclosed spaces (not shrines in the sense of the Hindu *mandiras* of the cult-images) and were more or less like *Yajña-śālās* of Vedic times and contained stones as seats for the souls of the ancestors—"upright stones for the male, and horizontal stones for the female souls" (*Ibid.*, p. 3). The outer wall was designated *mekhalā*, the closed gate with the roof was called *gopura*, and the structure for offerings *bale-nyāsa* (*Ibid.*, p. 20). The author interprets the word *bale* as the native word for small *maṇḍapas*. More probably *bale-nyāsa* is the incorrect Sanskrit for *bali* (offering) *nyāsa* (deposit)—the place where the offering has to be placed (*nyasta*). This evidently corresponds to the *Vali-pīṭha* of Southern Indian temples—a small pedestal on a Lotus cushion

with a horizontal piece of stone—to hold the offerings to the deity. Dr. Stutterheim does not cite sufficient details, or any extracts from Balinese ritual texts to enable one to judge in what respect the Balinese form of ancestor-worship differs from the Hindu forms. In the surviving Hindu forms in India, the rituals of *Śrāddha*, ancestor worship, consist in offering various forms of oblations (*pinda*s) and gifts preceded by *mantras* to keep out evil spirits (*bhūta-śuddhi*) by the preliminary offering of incense (*dhūpa*), lamp (*dīpa*), holy water (*tīrtha*) and flowers. Dr. Stutterheim, not giving due weight to the details of Hindu ancestor-worship, is led to remark that “the part played by Hinduistic priests was not always the most important.” “True, fully adorned, they had to receive Śiva into themselves in order to transform the flower-speckled water into holy water (*toya-tīrtha*); also, through recitation of their mantras accompanied by the steady ringing of their bell (*ghaṇṭā*), burning incense (*dhūpa*) and strewing flowers, they had to consecrate different ritual objects and cleanse the temple court from evil influences. But the actual celebration, the most important part of the feast—the offering of the hundreds of colourful sacrificial gifts to the gods—was not performed by the Brāhmaṇas, but by the folk-priest, the successor of the highest of the magic village-heads of olden times.” (*Ibid.*, p. 21). Our author does not state whether this has been the custom from time immemorial, or if this has been the *current* state of things. Dr. Sunīti Kumar Chatterjee during his investigation into the current religious rites of the Balinese found out that the old families of Brahmin priests in Bali have become extinct for sometime, and as no Brahmins have been imported from India, the duties of the priests are being performed by a class of priests who are not Brahmins by birth. The description that Dr. Chatterjee gives of the rites with ‘six kinds of accessories’—*dhūpa*, *dīpa*, *gandha*, *puṣpa*, *phala* and *toya*, corresponds exactly to the *pañcopacāra pūjā* still current in Hindu India. It is quite possible that owing to want of trained Brahmin priests, many of the rites have degenerated and become corrupt, and have in consequence deviated from the original standards. It is quite possible,

on the other hand, that in unimportant parts of the rites, some of the old local Polynesian rites may have been adopted and amalgamated and used as part of the religious ceremonies and practices. Dr. Chatterjee has noted in the Balinese rites, as now observed, many differences from the current Indian rites. He has remarked: "All their (Balinese) rites are not identical in all respects to the Hindu rites of our country (India). There are numerous variations in details which are unknown to us and also to our ritual texts in Sanskrit. But they are part of the Hinduistic rites of Bali, and they have very skilfully adopted these rites with the Sanskrit ritual *mantras* and the due performance of the Hinduistic rites current here. They are ignorant of the 'ten kinds of accessories' current in our *purāṇic* forms of worship; on the other hand, it is difficult for us to follow the 'ten kinds of accessories' used by them. At the same time, their form of worship and rites *entirely corresponds* to the same class of worship or *pūjā* with the help of accessories (*upacāra*) current in India. The rites that were current in India in primitive times, had evolved, outside the pale of the Vedic forms of *Yajñas*, in certain Brāhmaṇical rites, using numerous accessory objects and appear to have evolved in differing details in Island-India (Indonesia), perhaps due to contact with ancient Malayan rites and rituals." ("*Dvīpamaya Bhārat: Bali-dvīpe-Bāṅgālī, VI*," "*Pravāsi*," *Jyaiṣṭha*, 1337, pp. 271-272, one of a series of articles recording Dr. Chatterjee's impressions of Bali). Dr. Chatterjee's impression has been that the rites and rituals of Bali, fundamentally and in their main outline, are essentially Hinduistic in a strictly Brāhmaṇical sense, and although in unimportant details Malayan or Polynesian rites may have crept in—the present points of difference from the standard Indian practices are due more to degeneration due to want of contact with Indian standards and original Sanskrit texts than anything else. Dr. Stutterheim has remarked, "In former times, however, where there was constant contact with visiting Brāhmaṇas from India, the *mantras* must have been pure in wording and identical with those used by corresponding

sects in India." (*Ibid.*, p. 21). Dr. Chatterjee was very much impressed by the survival of the practice of invoking the spirit of the divinity through the skilful use of *mudrās*—the intricate details of which the Balinese *Padandas* have retained in a manner and with a skill which is becoming rare in India itself. Unless the details of the current Hinduistic rites are examined by an expert ritualist from India and compared with the Indian prototypes, it is impossible to say to what extent the native Polynesian rites have overgrown the ancient Indian practices. For this branch of research, the co-operation of Indian scholars is essential in order to interpret and re-construct the nature of the religious history of the Balinese and to ascertain to what extent, if any, the current Hinduistic practices in Bali have retained the pre-Hinduistic beliefs and rituals. It was at one time believed that the existing state of Balinese culture represents a true picture of Javanese culture—as it existed before the fall of Hindu culture in Java owing to the invasion of Islam, and that the section of the Javanese who did not accept Islamic culture, migrated to Bali, and is preserving the same state of things as existed in Java on the eve of the advent of Islam. But this supposition does not square with the data now furnished regarding the history of Hindu culture in Java. It is quite true that after the defeat of Bra Vijaya, the last king of Majapahit, in the hands of the Mahomedans in 1478, the members of the royal family fled to Bali. But the Hindu culture of Bali dates from very early times. Dr. Stutterheim seems to assume on rather meagre grounds that Bali received its Hindu culture not direct from India but from Java in the eight and ninth centuries—"Thus we may accept that the eighth and ninth centuries were a period of strong Javanization for Bali, which also meant secondhand Hinduization." (*Ibid.*, p. 13). Of course, no tangible monumental or epigraphic evidence of early Hindu culture in Bali (such as that of the Mūlavarman Inscription of Borneo) has yet come to light. The charters and foundations of the Balinese royal dynasty—that of the Varmadevas, do not date before the 10th century—and our inference as to the state of Hindu culture

previous to that date must be somewhat conjectural. The author while he suggests (p. 21) "constant contact with visiting Brāhmaṇas from India" has some doubts as to the possibility of Bali having received its Hindu culture direct from India. "Should we nevertheless believe that at some time there were as well at work in Bali direct influences from India?" (*Ibid.*, p. 13). The scriptural texts (yet to be studied) and the religious rites and ceremonies (very imperfectly investigated up till now) are our only data on this interesting problem. Two very significant evidences appear, to this writer, to throw some light on the subject. Over ten years ago—this writer was the first to suggest that the *Meru* style of temple architecture and ritual 'poles'—so common in Bali came from India, and that they were the structural *agnates* to similar structures of "a pyramidal system of super-posed storeys" met with in Nepal. It was at one time believed that this form of *Meru* temples came to Nepal from China. But the testimony of a Chinese pilgrim has given the quietus to this theory. Somewhat similar glope-roofed temples have survived in Kerala,—in the sanctuaries of Cochin and Travancore, which, by the way, preserve many early relics of ancient Indian culture which have disappeared from other parts of India. Moojen's excellent introduction to Balinese Architecture (*Kunst op Bali, Adi poestaka*, 1926) has not unfortunately led to further searches in the field. The prevalence of the *Meru* style of temples in Bali, easily leads one to believe that it is either a characteristic Balinese form, or the evidence of an early contact with India where the form prevailed in *pre-lithic* periods of Continental Indian Architecture. But the replicas on some Javanese stone reliefs—of *Meru* temples seem to prove that the style was once current in Java also, and it must have been a gift from India common to Java and Bali. In Java the development of stone architecture appears to have supplanted the earlier forms of wooden architecture, possibly of the *Meru* type,—which has survived in Bali. Another significant item connected with the funeral rites current in Java appears to have a link with India proper: Our author refers (p. 23) to a

Balinese custom of erecting an effigy of a dead king over the ashes collected from the remains. "Sometime after this ceremony, which corresponded to the Indian *śrāddha*, it was customary to consecrate a special piece of ground, to dig a pit and bury therein the conserved part of the king's ashes . . . when the pit was closed, they placed over it a stone image. This image represented the deity whose incarnation the dead king was supposed to have been during his life time. But certain deviations from the traditional representations of that god indicated that the figure was not intended to be an image of the god himself, but only one of his incarnations." (*Ibid.*, p. 23). In Bengal, we have a curious custom of erecting a wooden effigy (painted in different colours) in connection with the departed soul. This is carried in procession, with great *éclat*, to the accompaniment of music, and then implanted at a consecrated place where other like effigies of departed ancestors (?) have been set up. This effigy is known as the *Vṛṣa-Kāṣṭha* the "Bull-shaft." It is a crudely carved effigy with human faces and other decorations in the different parts of the "shaft." Its shape and primitive decorative patterns seem to correspond to the curved staffs with Malayo-Polynesian decorations of human effigies from the island of Sumatra (see Figs. 6 and 7, Plate XXV, C.M. Pleyte : *Indonesian Art*). Comparison may also be made with an effigy from Bali, reproduced in Dr. Juynboll's *Katalog des Ethnographischen Reichs Museums, Band VII, Bali und Lombok* (Plate XII, Fig. 1, 1912.) Dr. Stutterheim does not give us sufficient details of the rituals connected with its installation as current in Bali and it is impossible to say to what extent this significant funeral ritual in Bali has preserved the details of the original Indian model. Dr. G. Krause in his *Bali* (Insel Bali, Band II, 1920) published some photographs of funeral processions (plates 138 and 139) which remind one of similar funeral processions in Bengal. The effigy of the bull (*vṛṣa*) is evidently used in Balinese funerals (see Krause, *Bali*, Band II, plates 154, 155). These painted effigies of Bulls are made of stucco on a bamboo, or wooden framework, and have very significant relation to the Indian

prototypes. In a *śrāddha* ceremony, connected with the death of an important personage, it is usual to purchase and liberate a family of Bull with cows as its spouses—as a symbol of liberation; the liberation of the animals (*urṣa-mocana*) is intended to secure the liberation (*mocana*, *mokṣa*) of the soul of the deceased from the cycle of re-birth. It is usual to mark the body of the bull and its spouses with the symbol of the *triśūla*, in order to distinguish the liberated group from other domesticated cattle that may stray into the streets. Before they are marked, or rather branded with the symbol it is usual to tie up the Bull and the cows to several wooden posts (*Yūpa-Kāṣṭha*, also called the *Vṛṣa-Kāṣṭha*) one of which is the principal one, used for the Bull, the other being minor or subsidiary ones (*Upa-yūpa*). In some of the *smṛti* texts (manuals for rituals), it is stated that where it is not possible to secure the liberation of a family of Bulls, the rite may be performed through the use of stucco or straw effigies. In the *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, in its chapter on *Preta-Kalpa*, the expiration of the period of impurification (caused by the advent of Death) the Bull and four calves after being branded with the mark of the "trident" and the "circle" should be let off. In the absence of the Bull, its substitute may be used. Thus it is enjoined: "If on the eleventh day the bull cannot be secured, the wise should liberate effigies made of straw (*Kuśa-grass*) or of stucco." "If at the time prescribed for liberating the bull, the same is not available, the same can be liberated in effigies made of earth or grass." It appears, that owing to dearth of sufficient cattle for such funerary rites, it has been the custom in Bali to offer stucco effigies of bulls—instead of in flesh and blood.

But we are straying into topics which form one only of the many ritual and ceremonial phases of Indo-Balinese culture. Reserving fuller treatment of this topic for another occasion, we are happy to turn to the images, statuary, and temples of Bali. Our author does not deal very much with the Balinese temples, but cites and discusses some very interesting specimens of sculpture. Indeed, temples and images stand on a somewhat peculiar footing in Indo-Balinese

culture. Temples with images installed in the *garbhagrha*, such as we find in numerous examples in India, do not appear to have survived in Bali. It is quite possible that temples made of wood or other impermanent materials were constructed in the earlier periods and have not survived the ravages of time. One is inclined to postulate the existence of such temples with images in earlier times, otherwise it is impossible to explain the surviving specimens of images in stone, of which some very peculiar forms are illustrated in the volume. In the existing stone temples there is no *garbhagrha* or any arrangement for installing an image, or an icon. The characteristic forms of worship in Bali, as we have noted, are the presentation of *balis* or offerings in an empty shrine—the inner part of the typical Balinese temples. The outer gates of these temples are imposing *gopurams* derived from, but not actually following, the Indian or the Javanese models. Except for the decorative *motifs* on the outer faces of the *gopurams*, there is no room for iconic sculpture for the current Balinese form of worship. Yet the specimens cited in the volume are icons in stone, which must have been worshipped inside some temples which have now ceased to exist. The examples cited by the author fall into three groups: (1) images proper, (2) deified images of saints, or kings, (3) decorative *motifs* for water-spouts. A seated image of Śiva (8th-10th century) illustrated on Plate I recalls related images in Java. It may have been imported from Java rather than executed locally by Balinese sculptors. For a distinctive local style is apparent in the series of deified images of seated and standing kings and queens of which six examples are cited. Based on finer Javanese models, they are crude in conception as well as in execution and lacking in a general sense of proportion and finish. The remarkable head (Plate IV) with a tall *Jaṭā*, or *Kāraṇḍamukuta* bearing an effigy of Kīrtimukha, with a so-called "Khmer" smile, may represent either Śiva, or a Śaivaite Prince. The technique and conception closely follow the models of Southern Indian bronze images. Our

author writes: "The open eyes distinctly point to a representation of a king' (Pl. IV). There are numerous images of Śiva with "open eyes." The so-called lion's head on the *Jaṭā-mukuta* is unquestionably an effigy of a Kirtimukha—the protruding tongue is mixed up with the strings of pearls schematised to represent "entrails" (*vide* similar treatment of *Kīrtimukha* on a stone pillar, Subramanya temple, Tanjore, and numerous temples in Mysore). But the most important examples of icons cited by the author are the types of a peculiar *catus-kāya mūrti* of the Hindu Trinity never met within India. In most of the Indian images of the *trimūrti* the portion below the breast is never represented. In the Balinese examples, of which the finest example is reproduced on Plate XI, the whole body with elaborate garments with decorated scarves is represented. The treatment of the crown in graded stages, stimulating the form of an expanded lotus—reminds one of similar treatment in Cambodian and Chinese sculptures. We have four-faced images in Caumukha temples of the Jains, but excepting the Karāchi Museum Brahmā in metal—we have nothing to offer in India to resemble this manner of treatment. It reminds one of the famous wooden composite image of Kwannon in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Of the spout-heads (*Jala-tuṇḍa*), the most remarkable example is one representing the death of Hiraṇyakaśipu (Plate XVIII) which the author ascribes to the 13th or 14th century. It challenges comparison with the Javanese Viṣṇu on Garuḍa (Erlanga as Viṣṇu) (Museum of Modjokerta), and in spite of its florid decorations leaning to the baroque, is a *tour de force* of remarkable quality. If it was made in Bali, Balinese stone-sculpture must have attained a fine level of excellence. Similar remarks apply to the beautiful *aṣṭa-mukha-līṅga* (Plate XIX) a conception familiar in the texts but rare in plastic examples. But to us the finest example of Balinese sculpture cited in the volume is the moving conception of the *amṛta-manthana* depicted on the face of a Holy water vessel in stone (Pl. XVII) from Pedjeng. It has all the mystery, all the skill, all the entranc-

ing beauty, all the epic quality of Classic Indian Art at its best. Another sculpture, a spout-head deserves special mention. It is the figure of a "R̥ṣi" (Plate XVI) with matted locks carrying the effigy of another figure. Most probably it represents Bhagīratha carrying the Ganges (Gangā-devī). The treatment of the matted locks in flattened shape is peculiar but recalls similar treatment in Indian prototypes. The author ignores another type of Balinese sculpture, the indigenous polychrome wooden figures of the Malayo-Polynesian School. The famous Hanumān and numerous effigies of Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa—lend to the primitive Balinese School a peculiar flavour which deserved a place in the volume. We are grateful to the author for all he has been able to give us, and we have no doubt his excellent presentation of the general features of Balinese culture will provoke further interest and study.

O. C. GANGOLY

The Colas: By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archæology, Madras University, Vol. I, Madras, 1935.

The period of the Colas occupies a unique place in the history of Ancient India. As the author of the scholarly volume under notice eloquently observes, it was "the most creative period of South Indian history," when "the whole of South India was for the first time brought under the sway of a single government" and "the Tamil country reached heights of excellence never again reached in the succeeding ages"..... (*Preface*, p. v). While the oldest notices of the Colas go back to the grammarian Kātyāyana, their history comes down almost to the great period of Muslim invasions in the early part of the 14th century. It is, however, not only in time, but also in space, that the history of the Colas fills a large part of the canvas of South Indian history. Especially, in the great

age of Cola expansion, which commenced in the 10th century, the tiger-crested banner of these kings was carried far beyond the limits of India into Ceylon and the Laccadives on the one side, and Indo-China and Insulindia on the other.

To trace the history of such a dynasty from the earliest times, requires, it is evident, very high qualifications on the part of the writer. In the present work the author shows abundant evidence of his possession of such qualities. We find here complete mastery of fact and high linguistic equipment in the author's native Tamil combined with sound judgment. Frequently the author quotes long extracts from original authorities and adds his own textual and other comments which enhance the value of his contributions.

The present work brings down the history of the Colas from the earliest times to 1070 A.C., which marked the advent of the so-called Cālukya-Cola dynasty. The first chapter is aptly devoted to the examination of the sources of history. For the early Colas, as Mr. S. justly observes, the main source consists of the Tamil literature of the age of the third Saṅgam, which, unfortunately, cannot be made to yield at present an ordered sequence of events. The authorities for the Colas of the Imperial line, beginning with Vijayālaya, have been properly investigated by the author under the heads—'*inscriptions*', '*monuments*', '*coins*' and '*general literature*'. We cannot, however, help thinking that his estimate of the Cola monuments and coins might have been fuller, nor are we convinced that he has done full justice to Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil's scholarly monograph *Archéologie du sud de l'Inde*. The second chapter, called '*Early Notices*', after giving a preliminary account of the country and the etymology of the name brings together the references in Kātyāyana's grammar and the Aśokan edicts along with the Maurya passage in Mamulanar and references in the Periplus, the Geography of Ptolemy and the Pāli literature. These scattered references might well have been incorporated in the two succeeding chapters called '*The Colas and Early Tamil Literature*' and '*Government and Social Life in the Saṅgam Age*'. For, as the author rightly points out, the two sets of date agree with

each other to a surprising extent. However that may be, the author's incisive analysis helps to correct, at many points, the well-known work of Kanakasabhai Pillai, whose conclusions, as he properly observes, are based on materials that had not been subjected to any proper criticism. We thus learn that the Cola Karikāla's conquests were practically confined to the Kāveri valley, while the story of his constructing embankments along that river turns out to be a late legend. What is more important, the famous group of Five Great Tamilian Assemblies controlling the king appears to be a figment of Kanakasabhai's imagination, on which later writers have built elaborate conclusions with little relation to reality. Well might the author exclaim (p. 83 n.): "*Aho niraṅkuśatvam utprekṣāyāḥ.*"

With the accession of Vijayālaya, the first of the line of the Imperial Colas, the wealth of material enables the historian to trace a connected narrative of events. Chapter VI deals adequately with Vijayālaya and his son Āditya I, whose conquests are illustrated by a useful sketch-map. Chapter VII deals similarly with the reign of Parāntaka I, the varying extent of his kingdom being illustrated with the help of another sketch-map.

The reigns of Rājārāja the Great (Ch. IX) and his son Rājendra I (Ch. X) are treated by the author with patriotic but not unbecoming enthusiasm. These two Grand Monarchs, according to Mr. S. (p. 220), stood in much the same relation as Philip II of Macedon and his son Alexander. Rājārāja I was "the greatest among the empire-builders of South India" (p. 223). Of Rājārāja's greatest monument, the Rājārājeśvara temple at Tanjore, we are told (p. 221) that "it is the most beautiful specimen of Tamil architecture at its best." The narrative of the wars and conquests of Rājārāja has been well done, but the author's attempt to minimise the atrocities of the Crown Prince Rājendra's campaign against the Western Cālukyas hardly carries conviction. The reign of Rājendra I is treated by the author with his usual thoroughness and skill. As regards the Ceylon campaign of this king, the somewhat meagre references in the Cola inscriptions are supplemented by the full and lurid description in the Mahāvamśa and even

archaeological remains are requisitioned to testify to it. In dealing with the expedition to the Ganges, the author takes the opportunity not only to correct at various places Hultzsch's reading and translation of the original inscriptions, but also to criticise the views of Prof. S. K. Aiyangar and the late Messrs. R. D. Banerji and V. Venkayya on various matters of identification and interpretation. We notice in particular that Mr. S., agreeing with Mr. Banerji, rejects (Note A to Ch. X) Dr. Aiyangar's identification of Daṇḍabhukti with Bihar and postulation of a Mahīpāla of Oṭṭa different from the Pāla king of Bengal. On the other hand, following Aiyangar, he agrees, as against Mr. Banerji, that Mahīpāla of *Caṇḍakaśika* drama is not the Pāla king but the Gurjara Pratihāra sovereign of that name, so that there is no case for Banerji's supposition that Mahīpāla inflicted a check upon Rājendra's forces. Mr. S.'s account of the most spectacular and the least enduring of Rājendra's campaigns—the campaign against Kaḍāram (or, rather, against the Śailendra Empire) is necessarily based on the learned paper of Dr. Çœdès (*BEFEO*, XVIII, No. 6), but he has also utilised the researches of other scholars, specially of Rouffaer, whose illustrated map along with that of Çœdès is reproduced in the present work. Mr. S.'s own remarks on the nature and results of the campaign are expressed with his usual caution and good sense.

The same thoroughness and critical acumen are noticeable in the last two chapters (Chs. XI and XII) bearing the titles—*'The successors of Rājendra'* and *'The accession of Kulottuṅga I'*. In the first-named chapter he assesses the nature and results of the two outstanding campaigns of the period, *viz.*, the sanguinary campaigns against Ceylon and the Western Cālukyas. In the last chapter, he sifts with his usual care the varying and often contradictory evidences of the Tamil inscriptions and the Sanskrit and Tamil literary authorities regarding the circumstances under which the first sovereign of the Cālukya-Cola dynasty ascended the throne. The appendix consists of a valuable list of inscriptions, chronologically arranged, of the Cola and connected dynasties down to the time of Adhirājendra, along with a synopsis of their con-

tents but not of the Tamil historical introductions. An Index—extending nearly over hundred pages—brings this useful volume to a close.

We have noticed a few blemishes : ‘*Tārānāth*’ (this mis-transliteration occurs throughout) is made responsible for the story of Bindusāra’s conquests in the Deccan and South India. Such forms as ‘*Satiyaputa*’ (p. 28), ‘*Varendra*’ (p. 252), ‘*Macdonnel*’ (p. 283), ‘*Oxyrhynchus*’ (p. 620) should be rectified in a future edition. The location of Takkaṇalāḍa (map opposite to p. 248) should be correctly given. The absence of a sufficient number of diacritical marks, which accounts for the form ‘*Coedes*’, should be made good. These and other blemishes, however, do not detract from the high merit of ‘*The Colas*’, which is bound to remain for a long time to come the standard work on the subject. We await the publication of the second volume with great interest.

U. N. GHOSHAL

Teachings from the Bhagavad-Gītā. By Hari Prasad Shastri, D.LITT.

This is a brochure on the fundamental teachings of the Bhagavad-Gītā. The author has accepted the portion of these teachings capable of universal and eternal application. He has omitted the teachings which are peculiar to the then religious and social conditions of India. Everybody would agree with the author that Gītā is a divine gospel for the whole of humanity, for it breathes in every sentence high spirituality and speaks of the high spiritual vision to which Reality stands unmasked. “It emphasises the Universal Truth which is not touched by time.” The message that was given by the Gītā could have this enduring effectiveness, because it comes from the Supra-mental consciousness. The message of the Gītā is not peculiar to itself. It cannot be so. It originates from a height which, if anybody can open it in himself, will enable him to realise its universality. The teachings of the Gītā have

directly or indirectly influenced the spirituality of the whole East. It is now inspiring the spirituality of the West. We find in it the full gospel of life. The author has truly said, "Though given in India by a great Hindu Teacher, the *Gītā* is not exclusively a Hindu book." Its teachings are the same as those of the higher Christianity, of Islām, of Mahāyāna Buddhism, of Taoism. The *Gītā* has this universal character, because it is given by the Divine in Man which rises above human limitations and can see the face of truth in silence beyond all limitations of race and creed.

The author thinks that the *Gītā* teaches Monism and accepts Reality to be the Supreme Absolute, itself attributeless, but allowing a part of itself to go into manifestation. It draws back again the manifestation into it. There is a cyclic manifestation in space and time of the Absolute. The author thinks that this is the personal God of the Christians, Muslims and the Amitābha Buddha of the Mahāyānists. The personal God is the substance of the world. It has two natures:—(1) *Parā*, the finite spiritual selves, and (2) *Aparā*, the creative order of the evolutes. In India, philosophy is not only the luxury of thinking; it has also a spiritually pragmatic significance. It has its application to life to make it free from all contraries of existence.

The contraries are inevitable in the order of change or evolution, and a certain resistance is sure to be felt there. This resistance serves a spiritual purpose in enabling us to wake up the silent spirit in Man and in enabling him to rightly appraise things. Nature gives the indication of the true law of life, namely, that in natural divided course of life Peace cannot be found. Man is Supra-natural in essence. His experience in earthly existence should foster this lost sense. Paradise is lost in our ignorance, but the play of ignorance in creation is not the final Truth, there is the final urge in life to regain the Paradise, by removing the sense of division and partialities and by the divine vision and the divine elasticity of life which resistance should wake up.

The book has analysed all the 18 chapters of the *Gītā* and gives good translations of the verses with notes to help the

continuity of thought. In the notes the author has sometimes indulged in comparative studies of the meanings of forms used in the Gītā and in the writings of the western thinkers.

The book provides happy reading and one who has a philosophical discipline will find in it a helpful guide to the understanding of the Divine message. We are glad to find another edition of the Gītā. The more its catholic teachings are widely spread, the better it is for humanity.

M. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the following books, periodicals, reports, pamphlets, etc., during the last six months.

1. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, t. XXXIII, Fasc. 2, t. XXXIV, Fasc. 1, Hanoi.
2. *A Newly-Explored Route of Ancient Indian Cultural Expansion* (introducing some new views on the History of the Sailendra Empire of Indonesia): By H. G. Quaritch Wales, London, 1935.
3. *Journal of the Annamalai University*, Vol. IV, No. 2, Annamalainagar, 1935, Vol. V, No. 2, Annamalainagar, 1936.
4. *Sumatra*: By E. M. Loeb, Vienna, 1935.
5. *Louis Finot et l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi, 1935.
6. *Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka jusqu'aux invasions musulmanes*: By L. de la Vallée Poussin,
7. *Alamkāra-Kaustubha*: Ed. by Śivaprasād Bhaṭṭāchārya, Rājshāhi, 1934.
8. *The Early History of Ceylon*: By G. C. Mendis, Calcutta, 1935.
9. *The Unity of Manikind*: By M. Winternitz, Bolepur.
10. *Italy and Ethiopia* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace): New York, 1935.
11. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, d. LXXV, afl. 4, Batavia, 1935.
12. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlands-Indië*, d. 93, 's-Gravenhage.
13. *Djāwā*, 15 Jaarg., no. 4 & 5, Jogjakarta, 1935.
14. *Jāwā ke Hindu Sāhitya ke kuch mukhya grantho kā paricay evaṃ un ko aitiḥāsik upayogitā* (in Hindi): By Bahadur Chand Chhabra, Prayāg.
15. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, nos. 3 & 4, Calcutta.

16. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIII, pts. 1, 2, 3; Vol. XIV, pts. 1, 2, 3, Madras.
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19. *Bibliographie Bouddhique*, t. III, Paris.
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21. *On the Sexagenary Cycle of the Tibetans*: By A. von Staël-Holstein, Peiping, 1935.
22. *Inleiding tot de Ethnologie van de Indische Archipel*: By J. Ph. Duyvendak, Batavia, 1935.
23. *Annual Report (1935) of the Division of Intercourse and Education (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)*: By Nicholas Murray Butler, New York, 1936.
24. *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, d. LXXII, vierde stuk: By J. van Kan, Bandoeng, 1935.
25. *Śrīmad Bhagavat Gītā* (Chapt. I): By R. Vāsudeva Row, Madras, 1935.
26. *Undermining Foundations*: By Nicholas Murray Butler, New York, 1935.
27. *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXI: *Sphuṭārtha Abhidharma-kośavyākhyā of Yaśomitra*, 2nd Kośasthāna: Ed. by U. Wogihara and Th. Stcherbatsky, Leningrad, 1931.
28. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa (Das Goldglanz-Sūtra)* I-III: By W. Radloff, Leningrad, 1930.
29. *Zapiski*, V., Leningrad, 1935.
30. *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XVIII: *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, VII-VIII.
31. *New Light on the Holy Bible*: By M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, Madras.
32. *The Tamil that Jesus Spoke*: Do.
33. *Miscellaneous Essays*: Do.
34. *A Tamil Pun of St. Paul*: Do.
35. *Biblical Reference to the Maurya Dynasty of India*: Do.

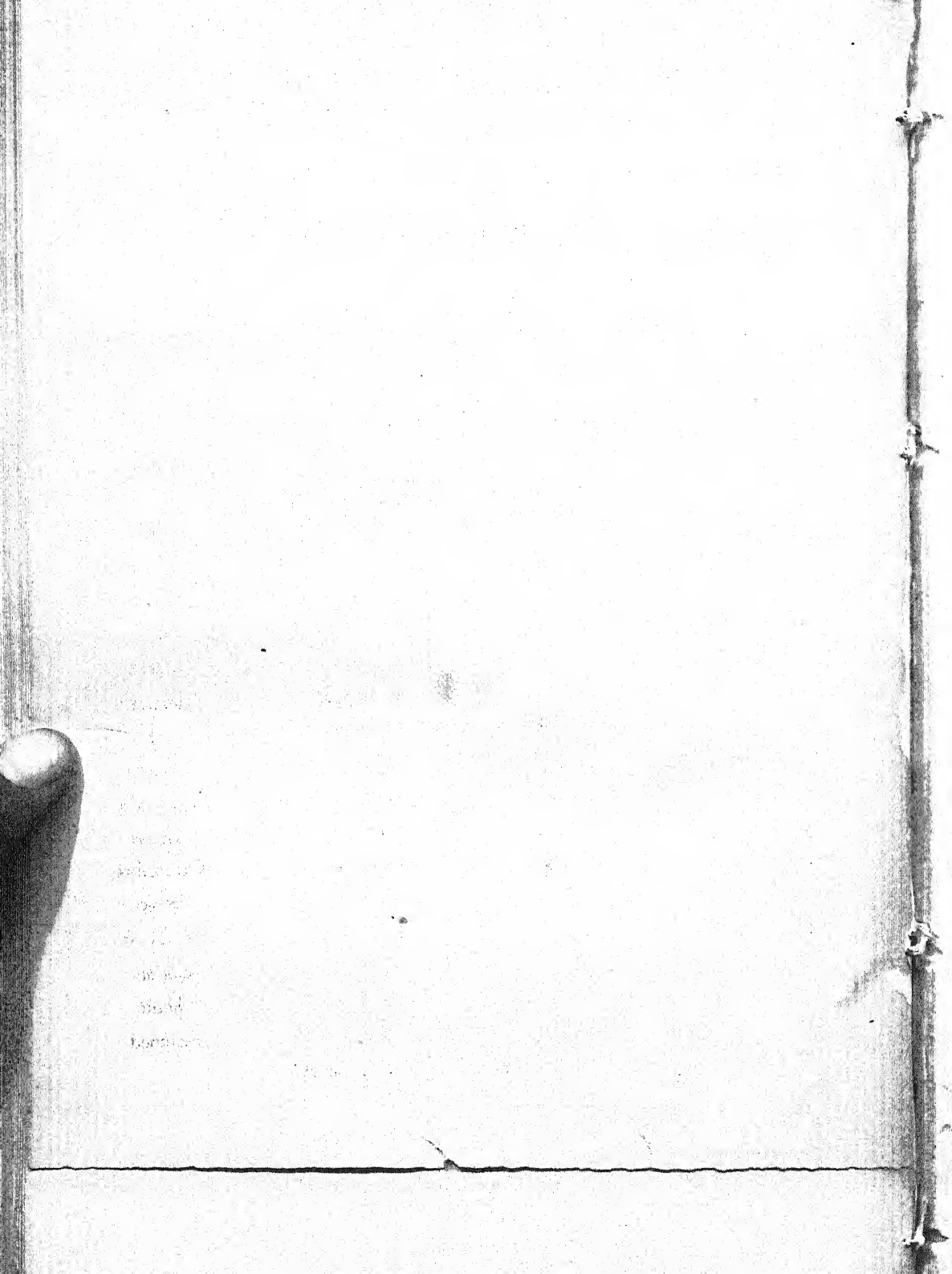
36. *New Light on the Holy Bible*
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37. *The Welsh National Anthem, a Tamil Song*: Do.
38. *Was Jesus Christ a flesh-eater or a*
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41. *The Buddha Prabhā*, vol. IV, no. I.
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CONTENTS

ERRATA

(Vol. III, No. 1.)

<i>Page</i>	<i>line</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>read</i>
6	13	This	Thus
8	24	.	,
14	21	<i>Rarṣa</i>	<i>Harṣa</i>
16	38	<i>Dakṣa</i>	<i>Yakṣa</i>
17	19	<i>Damauantī</i>	<i>Damayantī</i>
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21	30	Orientalist	Orientalist
24	18	dresesd	dressed
38	21	IV. 18. 6.	IV. 21. 6.
41	2	<i>claritatis</i>	<i>claritas</i>
„	24	<i>vibhāti</i>	<i>bhāti</i>
43	8	mourn	mourned
85	f.n., 48	after 'pp'. Add. '68-69'	



JOURNAL OF THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

JULY, 1936

CONTENTS

Articles:	Page
Contributions from the Mahāvamsa to our knowledge of the Mediæval culture of Ceylon (II)	139
By Dr. Wilhelm Geiger.	
The Terminal Stūpa of the Barabudūr ...	158
By Dr. J. Przyluski.	
Kuñjarakuñjadeśa and the Changal Inscription ...	170
By Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra.	
Veda and Avesta (II)	178
By Dr. Batakrişna Ghosh.	
Comment and Criticism	
(i) "The Study of Javanese literature in India" ...	188
By Mr. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar.	
(ii) A Correction	196
By Mr. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar.	
Notices of Books	197
<i>J. GONDA</i> , The Javanese Version of the Bhagavad-Gītā, (S. K. De); <i>B. M. GOSLINGS</i> , Gids in het Volkenkunde Museum, XIII, (H. B. SARKAR); <i>J. PH. DUYVENDAK</i> , Inleiding tot de ethnologie van de Indische Archipel, (H. B. SARKAR); <i>R. H. VAN GULIK</i> , Hayagrīva, The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-cult in China and Japan (J. N. BANERJEE); <i>J. GONDA</i> , Agastyaparwa, (H. B. SARKAR); Koninklijke Vereeniging Kolonial Instituut, 1935 (H. B. SARKAR); <i>ELIZABETH SHARPE</i> , The India that is India, (K. N.); <i>HARI PRASAD SHASTRI</i> , Book of Ram, the Bible of India (K. N.).	

Obituary Notice.

Dr. E. Obermiller 211

By Prof. Dr. Th. Stcherbatsky, Ph. D.

Extracts from the Annual Report of the Society
for the year 1935-36 214

Publications of Cognate Interest in other Journals 219

THE JOURNAL OF THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

VOL. III

JULY, 1936

NO. 2

Contributions from the Mahāvamsa to our knowledge of the Mediaeval Culture of Ceylon

By Dr. Wilhelm Geiger.

[Continued from JGIS., Vol. II, no. 2.]

II

1. THE KING AND THE ROYAL COURT.

2. Court-life.

19. The town or village where the king had his residence is called *rājadhānī* (royal city). It is the capital of the kingdom. The oldest capital was Anurādhapura, situated near the Malvatu-oya, in a plain which could be cultivated by artificial irrigation. It was a village founded, according to tradition, by one of Vijaya's companions in the time of the first Aryan immigration (*Mhvs.* 7.43). Paṇḍukābhaya, the fourth Sinhalese king, is said to have founded a city near Anurādhapura and to have made it his residence. The city was fortified and the ancient wall and ditch are still traceable, but the area it covers is comparatively small, hardly more than fifty acres. Nearly all the ruins of the splendid monastic monuments lie outside the fortification. But from that time onwards Anurādhapura has been a sacred place for the

Sinhalese people; so it was even in later times when it ceased to be the seat of the royal court; it bore the name of *mūla-rājadhānī* (the original capital). It suffered much from the invasions of the *Damīlas*, the population decreased more and more, and the sacred buildings went to decay. In our chronicle the situation is thus described as it was in the 12th century (*Mhvs.* 78.98.) The great Dagobas, the Lohapāsāda, the palaces and monasteries aforetime destroyed by the *Coḷas*, were ruined and the ruins overgrown with trees. Bears and panthers were dwelling there and the ground of the jungle scarce offered a foothold by reason of the heaps of bricks and earth. Parakkamabāhu I bestowed care upon the restoration of Anurādhapura. In two different passages (74.1 sq. and 78.96 sq.) an account is given of his enterprise. He sent to Anurādhapura a high dignitary who restored within a short time the walls and the streets, the palaces and the gardens, the ruined Dagobas and the Lohapāsāda and many other buildings. It seems, however, that the work was not completely executed, for about a century later prince Vijayabāhu (IV) betook himself to Anurādhapura, had the mighty forest round about the Thūpārāma and all the other sacred places felled and these places embellished with new buildings (88.80 sq.). But apparently he did not complete the restoration of the most sacred Ruvanvāli Dagoba, for he appointed a prominent priest to look after his work.

The second capital was Pulatthinagara, now Polonnaruwa. The town is first mentioned in the 7th century (*Mhvs.* 44.122) and was a temporary residence of Aggabodhi IV (658-74 A.D.) and later on of some other kings of the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries (46.34, 48. 74, 50.9, 54.68), chiefly as a refuge when the invasions of the *Damīlas* were threatening. In the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1070-1114 A.D.) Pulatthinagara definitely became the capital of the kingdom. Before that time the *Coḷas* had taken possession of the northern half of Ceylon and the power of the Sinhalese rulers was restricted to the southernmost provinces. But Kitti, the later Vijayabāhu, after some vain efforts, finally succeeded in defeating and expelling the *Coḷas* and in restoring the Sinhalese kingdom (G. C.

Mendis, *Early History of Ceylon*, pp. 55, 74). However he did not make Anurādhapura his residence, but Pulatthinagara. It offered more security against the Damiḷas and was of greater strategic importance, being farther off from the western coast of the island and nearer to the frontier of Rohaṇa.

The last king who resided in Pulatthinagara was the cruel Kāliṅga usurper Māgha. In these disturbed times some of those isolated rocks, which are so frequent in the Ceylonese lowland, had been fortified by prominent Sinhalese who wished to keep their independence, as the Subha mountain in the Māyā-raṭṭha and the Govindasela in Rohaṇa. King Vijaya-bāhu III (1232-36 A.D.), who succeeded in restoring the royal power at least in the Māyā country had his residence in Jambuddonī, i.e., Dambadeniya near Kurunegala. Later capitals were Hatthigiripura, i.e., Kurunegala, Gaṅgasiripura, i.e., Gampol, in the 14th century and Koṭṭū near Colombo up to the 16th century. The last royal residence of the Sinhalese kings in the Portuguese and Dutch periods and when the Englishmen arrived in Ceylon, was Sirivaḍḍhana, the modern Kandy.

The city of Pulatthinagara was considerably larger than that of Anurādhapura. It had the length of about one mile from North to South and a breadth of half a mile from East to West. On the Western side it dominates the Tōpā-veva, on the three other sides walls and ditches can still be easily traced. As in Anurādhapura, a good deal of the ruins lie outside the city. They have been excavated to a large extent and they make the splendour and wealth of the mediaeval Sinhalese royalty manifest to the modern visitor.

20. The Royal Palace (*pāsāda*, *rājageha*, *rāja-mandira*, *rañño ghara*, *antepura*) with the surrounding courtyard (*rājaṅgaṇa*) was a citadel within the city and had its own ramparts. The remainder of the palace in Anurādhapura may perhaps be the building which is now traditionally called Geḍi-gē and which is situated near the centre of the city. Much larger was the citadel in Pulatthinagara with the splendid palace built by Parakkamabāhu I. It measures about 350 yards in length and 250 yards in breadth.

The description of Parakkamabāhu's palace in the chronicle (*Mhvs.* 73.61 sq.) is quite in accordance with a common model and we cannot make out from it a true idea of the building. The technical expressions occurring in the passage are met with in literature wherever a palace is spoken of (A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian Architecture*, III *Palaces in Eastern Art* III, 1931, p. 181 sq.).

The palace is (i) *ṣaṭtabhūma*, seven-storeyed. It had, no doubt, upper storeys, but the number is merely schematic, as the numbers thousand or hundred in 2, 3, and 4. It had (ii) thousand chambers (*gabbha*) and (iii) many hundreds of pillars (*thambha*) which were variously adorned (*vicitra*) either in form or in colour. It had (iv) hundreds of *kūṭāgāras*, separately roofed pavillions which projected on any of the storeys. It had (v) doors (*dvāra*), large and small, (vi) windows (*ḥavāṭa*), (vii) stairs (*sopāna*) and (viii) well adorned walls (*bhitti*). It was radiant with manifold ornaments of creepers and flowers and offered conveniences for every season.

It is a lucky chance that the ruins, as far as they are excavated, render a better description of the palace possible than the verses of the *Mahāvamsa*.

The main and central part of the palace is a building of about 23 yards in length from North to South and 15 yards in breadth. It is divided into two equal parts by a broad passage running through it from East to West. The walls of this building are made of brick and very strong, nearly 10 feet thick, so that the interior space has not more than 8 yards in breadth. It is obvious that these walls had to support a superstructure, most probably the upper storeys.

The main door of the palace was on the eastern side. Through a vestibule one entered a large hall of about 38 yards in length from North to South and of 14 yards in breadth. Its roof was supported by three rows of altogether 36 pillars. We may suppose that in this splendid room the Court-festivals took place. The king in great state, sitting on his throne and surrounded by his attendants, showed here his sacred person to his subjects and received their homage.

Behind the hall is the central building and having passed

through it one entered a smaller hall on its Western side with one row of 8 pillars only, and quitted the palace through a gateway similar to the Eastern entrance, but much smaller.

The whole building is encircled on four sides by a great number of chambers, the largest of which have hardly more than four yards in length and even less in breadth. There are also remains of stone stairs leading to an upper storey. Here were, I think, the private chambers of the royal family and also open floors or terraces (*pāsāda-tāla*, *mahātāla*) where the king and the queen and their attendants could enjoy the sun on chilly days and the shade in the hot season. But the upper storeys of the palace in Pulatthinagara have entirely disappeared, probably owing to the fact that they were of slighter construction and partly made of wood. Doubtless the royal bedroom (*sirisayanagabbha*) which is described in *Mhvs.* 73.65 sq. was in this part of the building.

21. Besides the royal palace, there were, often or regularly, other buildings within the citadel (*rājāṅgaṇa*). In Pulatthinagara, ruins of several structures are still visible near the *pāsāda*. It is, however, impossible to ascertain their appropriation. But in *Mhvs.* 90.66, we are told that in the 14th century King Parakkamabāhu IV, who was residing in Kurunegala, erected a temple for the sacred Tooth Relic (*dāṭhādhātu*) within the royal courtyard. The Tooth Relic that was brought to Ceylon in the 4th century (37.92) was the palladium of the Sinhalese kingdom, and the rulers kept it in their immediate neighbourhood. In Anurādhapura, the ruins which by tradition are assumed to be those of the temple of the Tooth Relic (*dāṭhādhātughara*), are situated in the city not far from the Geḍi-gē. It is of interest to know where in Pulatthinagara the sacred relic was kept during the brightest period of the kingdom.

Within the citadel no trace has been found of a *dāṭhādhātughara*. But outside it, near its Northern Gate, there is an artificial terrace, measuring a little more than 100 yards square, on which a very important group of monuments is situated. Hitherto it was the prevalent opinion that these

monuments represent the Jetavanārāma which is mentioned as a foundation of Parakkamabāhu I and described in *Mhvs.* 78.32 sq. I accepted myself this identification which was first suggested by H. W. Codrington. But it has been contested with weighty arguments by S. Paranavitana (*Polonnaruwa Topography*, in the *Ceylon Journal of Science, Section—Geography*, Vol. II, p. 161 sq.).

Paranavitana points out that it was against the practice of the Buddhist monks to have their monasteries inside the city, as we also see in Anurādhapura. Moreover, he states, chiefly from inscriptions found on the monuments, that the Quadrangle was the Temple of the Tooth Relic in the Polonnaruwa period. It had the name Daladā-maluva, Terrace of the Tooth Relic, both in books and inscriptions. One of the Quadrangle buildings was the Tooth Relic Temple of Vijayabāhu I (1059-1116 A.D.), another that of Nissanka-malla (1187-1196). We might expect that Parakkamabāhu I, who was reigning in the time between the two aforesaid kings, had also built a temple on the Quadrangle for that sacred palladium of the kingdom. The chronicle, however, merely says (74.198) that the King had erected in the middle of the town (*nagara-majjhamhi*) for the Tooth Relic a splendid temple of five proportions. On the Quadrangle there is one building, the so-called Thūpārāma, which perhaps can be regarded as Parakkamabāhu's temple of the Tooth. But I do not know if it can be attributed to that period on grounds of style.

I fully agree with Paranavitana so far that the Quadrangle is not identical with Parakkamabāhu's Jetavana monastery, and that its buildings were dedicated to the worship of the Tooth Relic. But I hesitate to accept the identification of the Jetavana with the northernmost group of ruins round the image-house, popularly called the Demaḷamahasāya. It seems indeed to be beyond all doubts that the enumeration in *Mhvs.* 78.40 sq. of the monasteries founded by Parakkamabāhu proceeds from South to North. The Jetavana is mentioned first. Since it is not the Quadrangle, we must identify it with the group immediately outside the Northern Gate

between the city wall and the Rankos-Dagoba. We return, therefore, to the former traditional nomenclature. The next monastery is the Ālāhaṇa-pariveṇa (78.48 sq.) with the Pacchimārāma, the Western monastery, adjoining it in the west, and the third is the Uttarārāma, the Northern Monastery (78.74-5) which is now appropriately called Gal-vehera, i.e., Rock Monastery. Finally, the Damiḷathūpa is mentioned in the chronicle (78.76). This is, no doubt, the huge heap of bricks, north of the Gal-vehera, now overgrown with jungle, looking like a natural hill over which run the paths of the wild elephants. The traditional name Demaḷamahasāya has been erroneously transferred to a building which is situated a good deal farther to the North and resembles the monuments of the Quadrangle, the Thūpārāma and the Hāṭa-dā-gē

Regarding the Jetavana, I refer to *Mhvs.* 78.41, where we are told that the King built in this monastery a beautiful round temple wholly of stone to the Tooth Relic. If this notice, which does not seem to be in keeping with the afore-cited passage concerning the erection of a Tooth temple in the middle of the city, is reliable at all, it would certainly better suit the Jetavana than the buildings to the North of the Damiḷathūpa, where Paranavitana supposes that temple to have been situated. It is hardly probable that the King would have kept the palladium of the royalty at so great a distance from his palace.

22. The Royal treasure (*rājasādhana*, *rājābhāṇḍa*) is frequently mentioned in the chronicle. The royal dignity is closely connected with its possession. It contained the insignia or ornaments (*rājābharāṇa*, *rājābhūṣaṇa*) which the king was wont to wear on festival occasions. Whenever the kingdom was in danger, the ruler did his utmost to secure the regalia. When Kassapa, the heroic son of Upatissa II (522-24 A.D.) realized the uselessness of resistance against the mighty usurper Silākāla, he took his father and with his life and the royal treasure tried to escape to the hill-country of Malaya. But he was surrounded on the way by his foes and committed suicide (*Mhvs.* 41.10 sq.). It was considered

as a great disaster that the Coḷas, when they seized King Mahinda V in the year 1017 A.D. also took possession of the royal insignia (*sabbaṃ ābharaṇaṃ*, 55.16) and sent them to Southern India.

A new Sinhalese king was always anxious to seize first of all the regalia without which his dignity would have been imperfect. When in the year 496 A.D. Moggallāna after the suicide in battle of his brother Kassapa I had occupied the kingdom he took the whole of the royal treasure (*sabbaṃ sādhanam ādāya*, 39.28) and entered the capital to ascend the throne. After the death of Aggabodhi IV (647 A.D.) in Pulatthinagara the royal subjects secured the regalia (*rāja-bhaṇḍam*, 46.38) and brought them to Anurādhapura. When Aggabodhi VII died in the year 772 A.D. the heir apparent Mahinda II came from Mahātittha and having crushed the rebels he had the intriguing queen put into fetters and seized the royal power together with the royal treasure (*rajjam gaṇhi sasāadhanam*, 48.89).

The usurper Mitta who had killed the legitimate king Vijayabāhu IV about the year 1273 A.D. forced his way into the city of Tambuddoṇi, entered the royal palace, seated himself on the throne and showed himself to the whole army, his person adorned with royal ornaments (*rājabhūsaṇabhū-sitaṃ*, 90.13). After the Tooth-Relic and the Bowl Relic were retaken in Rohaṇa by the generals of Parakkamabāhu and carried to Pulatthinagara with great solemnity, the king himself arrayed with all his ornaments (*sabbābharaṇabhū-sito*, 74.224) mounted his favourite elephant and surrounded by many dignitaries he went forth to reverence the sacred relics.

Such was the appearance of the Sinhalese kings on festive occasions.

23. The royal insignia were 64 in number (*Mhvs.* 82.50), but though they were often mentioned in literature, a list of them is not readily available (E. W. Perera, *Ceylon Notes and Queries*, III, 1914, p. xxxvi). Some of them are enumerated in the Thūpavaṃsa, a work composed in the 13th century, but the terms are hardly reconcilable with those occurring

in the Pali chronicle. There the following regalia are mentioned :—

(a) The *throne* (*āsana*, *sīhāsana*, *pallaṅka*). The expression 'lion-seat', is frequently used, for the lion is the symbol of royal power (25.98; 90.13, 23). Sometimes the king's seat was erected on the stone figure of a crouching lion. A specimen of such a figure with an inscription of king Nissankamalla is preserved in the Colombo Museum.

(b) When sitting on the throne the king wore a *crown* on his head which was adorned with gold and precious stones. The most superb of the stones was the crest-jewel (*cūlāmaṇi*). In the *Mahāvamsa* three terms occur for the crown : *maḍḍa*, *ḍiṭṭa*, *moli*. I translate these words tentatively with crown, diadem, tiara. In the *Thūpavamsa* five kinds of crown (*Sinh. oṭunna*) are distinguished : *siddha*-, *mini*-, *siṃha*-, *vyāghra*-, and *ruvan*-, crown, i.e., the celestial crown, the jewel-, lion-, tiger crown, and the golden crown (E. W. Perera, l.c. p. xxxvii. 19). It is, however, impossible to trace such a distinction in the Pali chronicle, nor do we know whether the three words used here are merely synonymous or denote different kinds of crown. King Kassapa II having defeated the usurper Dāṭhapatissa (641 A.D.) united the island again under one dominion, but it is expressly said that he did not wear the crown (*maḍḍam eva na dhārayi*—44.145), for the royal insignia were in Dāṭhapatissa's possession (44.126-8). Among the treasures captured by the Coḷas in the year 1017 A.D., there was also the royal crown (*maḍḍam*—55.16). In a similar connection the diadem is mentioned (*ḍiṭṭam*—56.10) which is also classed among the sixty-four royal ornaments in *Mhvs.* 82.50. In the description of Parakkambāhu's first coronation the term *moli*, the tiara, is used (71.28), and when after Mānābharapa's death, his second coronation took place he entered the capital in a solemn procession, sitting on the back of his state-elephant and wearing on his head the tiara (*sirasā dhārayam moliṃ*—72.326), which sparkled with the brilliance of its jewels.

(c) The particular symbol of the royal dignity was the *white umbrella* (*seta-chatta*). The phrase 'to raise the (white)

umbrella' means the same as to ascend the throne (*Mhvs.* 55.1) and the phrase 'to unite Laṅkā under one umbrella', the same as to govern the whole island (64.32; 69.4). In the inscriptions the date is generally given by the words "in such and such a year after the elevation of the umbrella" (see above in para 4). In festive assemblies the umbrella was held over the king's head by an official of high rank whose title was *chattagāhaka* (59.16). Even in battles the king riding on his elephant was made recognisable by the white umbrella, as in modern times the position of the commander-in-chief by his standard. By a mishap king Saṃghatissa lost his umbrella in the battle against the rebel Moggallāna (afterwards M. III, 611-7). It fell to the ground, because it knocked against the branch of a tree. The hostile soldiers took it and handed it over to their commander. Moggallāna raised it standing on the summit of a hill. Thereupon the troops of Saṃghatissa abandoned their ruler and surrounded Moggallāna thinking he was now their king (44.18 sq.). The umbrella as a symbol of royalty is known to the whole of India since ancient times. A *chatta* was according to the tradition among the presents sent by king Asoka to Devānampiyatissa (11.28). The latter himself dedicated a white umbrella to the eight shoots of the sacred Bodhi-tree to honour them like kings, and he bestowed the royal consecration (*abhiseka*) upon them (19.59).

(d) The *cāmara* was a costly *fly-flapper*, the chowry or the bushy tail of the Tibetan Yak, *Boş gruniens*. It was often set in a costly decorated handle in which form it was one of the insignia of ancient Asiatic royalty. The chowry is therefore mentioned side by side with the umbrella (76.123; 99.47, 15; 100.193). Its handle is made of gold and silver (85.26; 89.19). The term *vālavījanī*, literally fan made of hair, seems to be synonymic with *cāmara*. When the Hair Relic had been brought to Ceylon, king Moggallāna I (496-513 A.D.) constructed a casket for it which he placed under a pillar-supported canopy, and he dedicated a *vālavījanī* to it, in order to make its royal dignity manifest (39.53). Besides the *cāmara* and the *chatta* a jewel-fan (*maṇi-tālavanṇa*), i.e.,

a fan decorated with jewels is mentioned among the royal insignia in a purely mythical passage (31.73).

(e) Ornaments worn by the king on solemn occasions also occur among the regalia, such as bracelets (*kaṭaka*—*Mhv.* 82.50, *vajiravalaya*—55.16), etc. The most precious ornament was apparently a chain of one string of pearls (*ekāvalī*). It is noticeable that the same is mentioned in the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra II, 11.29 (transl. by Shamasastri, p. 87) in an enumeration of royal treasures. When Aggabodhi III was defeated by Dāṭhopatissa about the year 626 A.D. and forced to flee to Jambudvīpa, he left everything behind and took with him only the *ekāvalī* by which to make himself known. King Aggabodhi IV, who was a devoted friend of the Buddhist community used that chain as rosary (*aḷḷhamālā*—46.17).

(f) A royal weapon was the *unbreakable dagger* (*acchijja-cchurikā*) mentioned in 55.16 immediately after the *vajiravalaya*. It was no doubt the dagger with which Kassapa I committed suicide by cutting his throat (39.27). This was also done by Jetṭhatissa III (44.112) who was wont to keep the dagger in his betel-bag. In the description of a similar scene the word *asiputtaka* is used insted of *churikā* (41.24).

(g) Together with the unbreakable dagger in 55.17 also *chinnapaṭṭikādhātu* is mentioned as belonging to the royal treasure. The word requires a few remarks. *Wijesinha* in his translation of the *Mahāvamsa* (II, p. 90) renders it as "sacred forehead band" and adds the note: "The term is of doubtful meaning, but it evidently refers to the fillet worn round the forehead." But this is impossible. The final word *dhātu* clearly points to some sacred relic and the first word of the compound *chinna* is incompatible with the idea of a fillet, for it means "cut off." Perhaps even the suffix in *paṭṭikā* should not be neglected: *paṭṭikā* is a small piece of cloth. I believe, therefore, that *chinnapaṭṭikādhātu* was a relic consisting in a torn piece of stuff from the Buddha's robe which was probably kept in a small costly case and worn by the king as a talisman.

24. In Ceylon as in the whole of India the king's vehicle was the *elephant*. The best elephant in the royal stables was the state-elephant (*maṅgala-hatthī* or *-dvīpo*). It was mounted by the ruler not only during festive processions (see above 22, 23b) but also in war (23c.) When Kassapa I and Jetṭhatissa III committed suicide in battle (22, 23f), they were riding on their elephants. A most heroic scene from ancient times is the single combat between Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Eḷāra near the south gate of Anurādhapura, as it is described in *Mhvs.* 25.69-70. Both kings had mounted their elephants; that of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was called Kaṇḍula, that of his adversary Mahāpavvata. Eḷāra hurled his dart first, but Gāmaṇi avoided it. He made his own elephant pierce his 'enemy's' elephant with his tusks and hurled at the same time his dart at Eḷāra and Eḷāra fell with his elephant. The state-elephant was no doubt always a tusker of extra-ordinary size. As tuskers are very rare in Ceylon such animals were imported either from Burma or from India. Import of elephants from Burma, as we shall see below (29), is confirmed by the chronicle itself (*Mhvs.* 76.17).

There were also horses in the royal stables (70.265), and a state-horse (*maṅgalavājīn*, *assa maṅgala*) is mentioned in the chronicle (22.52, 34.86). Prince Kassapa, the brother of king Sena I, was on horseback in a battle against the Damiḷas, and the swiftness of the noble steed was so great that the one horse looked as if it were a line of many steeds (50.26-28). The royal elephants were under the care of the elephant-keepers (*hatthipaka*) and the horses under that of the riding-masters (*turaṅgasādīn*—88.34).

25. In mediaeval Ceylon, as everywhere in India the harem was an essential part of the royal court. There are several terms for harem in the Mahāvamsa: *antepurittiyo*, i.e., palace women (14.46), *orodha* and *orodhajanā* (60.85), *itthāgāra* or in the plural *itthāgārā* (70.266; 72.302; 59.33). The last term may be compared with German *frauenzimmer*. The women of the harem were not only the king's retinue but also his concubines. It is expressly stated in 59.33 that none of king Vijayabāhu I's *itthāgārā* conceived a fruit of the

womb by the monarch. Only on the wives of equal birth, the queens, he begot children. Sons begotten on the *ittāgārā* had no right of succession.

The women of the royal seraglio were in constant attendance upon the king and they did their utmost to please him and to grow in his favour. Those of Vijayabāhu were emulating his attendants in amassing many merits in many ways (60.85). Without *orodha* the splendour of the royal court was defective. When Mānābharāṇa had overcome king Gajabāhu and taken possession of Pulatthinagara he fetched from Rohaṇa the sacred relics, tooth and bowl, his mother Sugalā and the whole of the harem (*saḷaṇṇa itthāgāraṇa*—70.266), for he wished to show the people that he was now the legitimate ruler.

Chiefly on festive occasions the palace women were in the king's retinue. Ten years ago I was present in Djokjakarta, Isle of Java, at the celebration of one of the three anniversaries (*garabek*) in the Sultan's palace. When the Sultan entered the festival hall, he was followed by officials who carried the insignia, the umbrella, the fan made of peacock's feathers, the lance, etc., and immediately after them came the women of the seraglio who, during the whole solemnity, were squatting on the side of and behind the Sultan's throne. A group of women had strong yellow paint on their necks and shoulders. On beholding the whole ceremony I could form a notion of a mediaeval Indian court-feast.

The Jāvaka king Candabhānu was accompanied by his harem even in war, for in the booty got by Vijayabāhu and Virabāhu after his defeat the loveliest women of his court (*orodhavarā*—*Mhvs.* 88.74) are mentioned besides the elephants and horses, many weapons and the entire treasure.

3. Royal duties.

26. In order to be able to fulfil his duties in the most perfect manner the king must know the precepts of political wisdom (*nīti, naya*). If he masters them he is worthy of the name of a clever statesman (*nayaññu*—*Mhvs.* 48.50; 58.1). The king is to reign according to the rules of statecraft (*yathā-*

nayam—48.96) without transgressing the precepts laid down for monarchs (*rājanūḷim avokkamma*—90.56). We have noticed above (para. 11) that the study of various works of *nīti* literature was included in the princely education. In the later part of the chronicle, which was composed by Dhammakitti's successor, Manu is recognised as the highest authority. Vijayabāhu II (1186-7A.D.) was an eminent ruler who did not depart from any precept of the political teaching of Manu (*Manunītikkaṃ māṇi kiṃci avokkamma*—80.9) and Parakkamabāhu II (1236-71 A.D.) is praised as versed in the ordinances of Manu (*Manunītivisārado*—84.2).

Ten virtues (*dasa rājadhammā*—37.107; 52.43) are essential for a good ruler. They are not enumerated in the chronicle. It is supposed that they are well known to everybody. But they are specified in a Jātaka verse: giving of alms (*dāna*), leading a moral life (*sīla*), liberality (*pariccāga*), fair dealing (*ajjava*), gentleness (*maddava*), self-discipline (*tapo*), freedom from wrath (*akkoḍha*), mercy (*avihiṃsā*), patience (*khaṇṭi*), peaceableness (*avirodha*).—Jātaka, ed. by Fausbøll, III. 274. The ten meritorious works (*dasa puññaakriyā*, 37.180) are a similar list of royal virtues, or they are identical with *dasa rājadhammā*.

As a king is always menaced with ambuscades of foes and rebels (*corā, dāmarikā*), he must try to gain the goodwill of his subjects by liberality (*dāna*), friendly speech (*peyyavajja*) beneficence (*atthacariyā*) and sociability (*samānattatā*). These are the four heartwinning qualities (*cattāri saṃgahavatthūni*—37.108; 52.43; 92.8) by which good rulers are distinguished.

27. Upon his officials the king used to confer distinctions in order to acquire ready and obedient followers or to show them his gratitude if they had successfully executed the royal orders. We meet in the chronicle with several terms, which are manifestly nothing but honorary titles, bestowed on the bearers by the king for public services. The system became more and more complex reaching a climax about the time of Parakkamabāhu the Great. One of these titles is *kesadhātu* or *kesadhātu-nāyaka*. It may have originated in the members of the order entrusted with the care of the

Hair Relic (*keśa-dhātu*). Later on this became a mere formality Parakkamabāhu conferred the title on his general Rakkha (*keśadhātu-padam datvā*—70.19) when he had subjugated some districts of the Malaya province, and to another of his generals (*adā keśadhātu-nāyakaṭṭam*—70.279) ere he began the war with his most powerful rival, Mānābharaṇa. The title of a *keśadhātu(-nāyaka)* first occurs in the 11th century (57.68). In the reign of Parakkamabāhu several officers or generals are mentioned who bore it (70.23, 66, 98; 72.2, 5, 7, 107; 76.253, 255, 269, 324). Later on it seems to have fallen into disuse.

It is sometimes impossible to say with certainty whether such a term is a mere title or the designation of an official post with peculiar duties. But this much seems to be very probable that all the compounds with *-giri*, *-gala* as second part and with *laṅkā-* as first part are honorary titles only. I refer to *nagaragalla* and *nagaragiri*. The former title was bestowed by Parakkamabāhu on his general Saṅkhadhātu (*nagaralla-padam datvā*—70.280). As *nagaragiris* are mentioned Mahinda, Nātha, Kitti (70.89, 146, 199; 70.318; 72.107; 76.60); the *nagaragiri* Gokaṇṇa was in the service of king Gajabāhu (66.35, 62; 70.68). Similar titles are *lokaḡalla* (75.138), *niḡagiri* (70.137, 140, 142), *ḡitagiri* (72.25), *māragiri* (72.11; 72.164, 174) and *laṅkāgiri* (72.27; 72.124-5; 76.250). Other compounds with *laṅkā-* are *laṅkādhināyaka* or *laṅkā-dhinātha* (70.24, 98) and *laṅkāpura* (72.39; 75.70; 76.250) in addition to *laṅkāgiri*. The title *laṅkādhikārin* was conferred on Kitti (*adā...laṅkādhikaṛittam*—70.278) who up to that time was a *saṅkhaḡanāyaka*.

A translation of these terms would hardly be appropriate. Generally the title is immediately joined to the personal name of its bearer, as for instance, Mahinda-nagaragiri or Rakkha-laṅkāpuro. If the person is mentioned before in the narration and therefore known to the reader, often the title alone is used. Frequently the phrases like "the laṅkāpura which is known as Kaḡakkuḡa" (*Kaḡakkuḡa-ṭṭi-ssuto laṅkāpuro*) or "the keśadhātu named Tamba" (*Tambavhaya keśadhātu*) are met with in the chronicle.

28. One of the principal duties of the king was the *diplomatic intercourse* with other people. He received the messengers sent to his court by foreign kings and he himself sent messengers to other courts. When in the 12th century the island of Ceylon was divided into three or four provinces and each of the provinces had its own ruler, there was a polite diplomatic intercourse between the courts, as long as the rulers were living in peace. Mānābharaṇa sent messengers to Pulatthinagara to bring king Vikkamabāhu the news of the birth of his son, Parakkamabāhu (*Mhvs.* 62.54). Later on Parakkamabāhu himself announced in the same manner the death of his uncle Kittisirimegha to king Gajabāhu in Pulatthinagara and to his cousin, the younger Mānābharaṇa, who was the ruler in Rohaṇa (67.95).

29. Of greater importance were the diplomatic relations with Rāmañña and with the Dravidian kingdoms in Southern India.

Rāmañña was the name of the province of Pegu in Southern Burma. Its inhabitants were, like those of Ceylon, Buddhists of the Theravāda school. Between the two countries there had never been a dissension up to the 12th century, and their monarchs were wont to send each other many costly gifts and in this way to maintain a friendly intercourse (*Mhvs.* 76.10 sq.). Vijayabāhu I (1059-1114 A.D.) sent envoys with various presents to the king of Rāmañña and received in return valuable gifts from him (58.60.) When in Ceylon the number of the *bhikkhus* had decreased so much that it became impossible to make the chapter full for the holding of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, the same king fetched from Rāmañña *bhikkhus* who were thoroughly versed in the Buddhist precepts and able to restore the Order which had declined in Laṅkā (60.4 sq.). It is well known that for the same purpose in the 18th century an embassy was sent to Siam by king Kittisirirājasīha. A chapter of *bhikkhus* arrived in Ceylon and established there the Siamese sect (Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, *Saraṇaṅkara, the last Saṅgha-Rāja of Ceylon*—p. 14 sq.). The Burmese sect in the Island is of a somewhat later origin.

The friendship between the two countries was severely disturbed in the 12th century when new regulations concerning the trade in elephants were introduced by the ruler of Rāmañña. These regulations were disadvantageous to the Ceylonese merchants. Moreover envoys sent by king Parakkamabāhu I were ill-treated and a princess who passed through Burma on her way to Kamboja was seized by force. Parakkamabāhu resolved to make war on the Rāmañña king. His troops having crossed the sea landed in two different ports and overthrew the hostile armies.

Such is the report of the chronicle (*Mhvs.* 76.10-68), but we do not know how far it is reliable. It is certainly much exaggerated. In the negotiations of peace which followed the campaign the community of *bhikkhus* is said to have acted as intermediaries. The former friendly relations were restored by king Vijayabāhu II (1186-7 A.D.). The king himself composed a letter in the Māgadha language which he sent to the ruler of Rāmañña and concluded a treaty with him, as Vijayabāhu I had done before (80.6-7).

30. Much more troubles were caused by the relations with the Dravidian kingdoms in Southern India. Those with the Pāṇḍus had generally a more friendly character than those with the Coḷas. According to a half legendary tradition the leader of the first Aryan immigrants, Vijaya, married a daughter of the Pāṇḍu king in Madhurā and his companions married maidens of the same race (*Mhvs.* 7.48 sq.). In the mediaeval period Mittā, the sister of Vijayabāhu I (see above para. 9), was given away in marriage to a Pāṇḍu prince, while the wooing of the Coḷa king was refused, because the Coḷa was not considered to be of equal birth. Later intermarriages between the royal families of the two countries are mentioned above (para. 9). On the other hand already in the 9th century the chronicle (50.12 sq.) gives an account of the incursion into the island of a Pāṇḍu army by which palaces and temples were plundered and destroyed and many treasures carried away to India. The war was brought to an end by a treaty concluded with the Sihala ruler by the envoys of the Pāṇḍu king.

Sometimes the Pāṇḍus when they were in conflict with the Coḷas sent messengers to the Sinhalese king or took refuge with him and requested his assistance, as it happened in the reign of Kassapa V (913-23 A.D.) and Dappula IV (*Mhvs.* 52.70 sq.; 53.5 sq.). In the 12th century the Pāṇḍu king *Parākrama* entreated the help of king Parakkamabāhu against Kulasekhara. As it was always in keeping with the policy of the Sinhalese kings to support the Pāṇḍus in such conflicts Parakkamabāhu sent an army into Southern India. The campaign is amply described in the *Mahāvamsa* (76.86 sq.; 77.1-105), but the failure which overtook the expedition after the initial success is concealed by the chronicler. (Cf. Codrington, *Short History of Ceylon*, p. 62). At the end of the 13th century a Pāṇḍu army invaded Ceylon during a famine, took the stronghold Subhagiri and carried the Tooth Relic, which was kept there, away to India. The Sacred Relic was brought back to Ceylon by king Parakkamabāhu III (90.43 sq.; 51 sq.).

But the most dangerous enemies of the Sinhalese were the Coḷas. The history of Ceylon in ancient and mediaeval times is filled with accounts of bloody struggles between the Siḥalas and the Coḷas, who invaded the island and devastated it. Already in the 2nd century B.C. Eḷāra came from the Coḷa country and occupied Anurādhapura. Similar events frequently occurred in later times. Often the northern provinces of the island were possessed by the Damiḷas whilst the Siḥala kingdom was confined to Rohaṇa. Such was the state of things in the 10th and 11th centuries in the reigns of king Udaya IV (*Mhvs.* 53.42 sq.), of king Sena V (54.64 sq.) and of king Mahinda V (56.1 sq.). The last was even taken prisoner by the Coḷas and brought to India. About 1070 A.D. Vijayabāhu I succeeded in restoring the Sinhalese kingdom (58.59). But we know that it was the fear of the Coḷa invasions by which the Sinhalese kings were compelled to transfer their residence from Anurādhapura to Pulatthinagara and later on to such places as Jambuddoṇi in the south-western province. The chronicle tells us that the Kaṇṇāṭa and the Coḷa kings sent envoys with rich presents to king

Vijayabāhu's court. It is difficult to understand what the purpose of that embassy was and how it ended. But the messengers sent in return by the Sinhalese king to the court of the Coḷa king were ill-treated and mutilated. Vijayabāhu declared war, but was prevented from carrying out his plan by the mutiny of the Velakkāra mercenaries in Pulatthinagara (60.24 sq.).

In the 13th century the Pāṇḍus and Coḷas had again the opportunity of meddling with the Sinhalese affairs (80.43 sq.). But later on the relations had a different character. Buddhism was apparently flourishing in the Coḷa country, and *bhikkhus* betook themselves there from Ceylon or were summoned by Sinhalese rulers to return therefrom to the island (81.20 sq.; 84.9-10; 89.67).

The Terminal Stūpa of the Barabudur

BY DR. J. PRZYLUSKI

Mr. Stutterheim's researches, continued by M. Mus, have brought to light the analogies which exist between the Barabudur, the mountain-temple of the Indian Cakravartin, and the Assyro-babylonian *ziqqurrat*. I have endeavoured recently to lend more precision to these analogies, and showed that all those monuments consist of three parts: the tower of Babylon had a subterranean base, seven stories, and a shrine on its top. Likewise, mount Meru, the prototype of the mountain-temple, has an invisible base surmounted by the mountain, which, in its turn, is crowned by the palace of the gods. Again, the Barabudur has a base concealed by a facing of masonry, seven terraces and a terminal *stūpa*.¹ The question which I would now like to examine is the following: which was the deity worshipped in the terminal *stūpa* of the Barabudur?

Theoretically, there is scarcely any doubt about the answer. On the summit of the cosmic mountain sits the king of the gods. The Cakravartin's palace is the image of the god's palace. The Barabudur, being both the cosmic and the royal mountain, the personage who sits on its top must be the summit of the religious and of the political hierarchy. Thus he must be at the same time the Cakravartin-Buddha, and the king-Cakravartin. We shall see that these politico-religious ideas, having spread to the distant boundaries of the Buddhist world, were given in the empire of the Sailendras, a special character.

Several Buddhist *sūtras*, translated into Chinese, bear a title which corresponds to *Brahmajāla-sūtra*. Here is the

¹ *Les sept terrasses du Barabudur*, article in the press in *HJAS* (*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*).

full title of one of them: "Part ten of the *Brahmajāla-sūtra* where the Buddha Vairocana declares the *cittabhūmi* and the *śīla* of a Bodhisattva." This text belongs to the Vinaya category and has been partly edited and translated by De Groot in 1893.² We will call it by its Japanese title: "*Bommōkyō*." It was profoundly venerated in Japan. In A.D. 753, the *Bommōkyō* was read in all the more important temples.

"*Bommōkyō* doctrines," writes Prof. S. Elisseeff, "as well as Buddhist concepts in general profoundly influenced the political ideas of the Emperor Shōmu. This Japanese sovereign felt that the government should be organized in conformity with this Buddhist text, where it is said that Locana produces one thousand great Śākya, who are in their *nirmāṇa-kāya*; from each of these Śākyas come forth millions of small Śākyas, who simultaneously are preaching in all the millions of worlds. In this same way the Emperor occupies in Japan the supreme rank, corresponding to Locana Buddha; the Imperial will is transmitted to the thousand officials, who in the government organization can be considered representatives of the Emperor, as the thousand great Śākyas are of Locana. The subjects are compared to the millions of small Śākyas. That the Emperor Shōmu identified himself with the central deity is revealed by the fact that after the *Śīla-samādāna* ceremony he took the Buddhist name Jōman which is nothing other than the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit name Locana. It was this sovereign who erected the Great Buddha and thus represented in sculpture a passage from the *Bommōkyō*."

"The casting of such a huge statue presented many technical difficulties and the statuary succeeded in their

2 De Groot, *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, in the *Verhand. der Konink. Akad. van Wetensch.*, Amsterdam, 1893; James R. Ware, *Notes on the Fan Wang Ching*, *HJAS*, I, 1, pp. 156-161; for a bibliography of the Japanese studies about this text, cf. S. Elisseeff, *The Bommōkyō and the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji*, *HJAS*, I, 1, p. 84, n. 3.

work only after eight attempts. It was finished in 749, but was not yet gilded. The Japanese authorities were anxious to find the precious metal in Japan itself in order to gild this great statue with national gold. At the beginning of the year 749 gold had been discovered in northern Japan. The Emperor Shōmu was extremely glad of this event and in the fourth month went to Tōdaiji accompanied by his family and many officials. This same year the Emperor Shōmu abdicated in order to devote himself to Buddhism.

..... "The Great Buddha is the Great Enlightened; he is the essence of Buddha in the Dharmadhātu (world).

..... "The text of the Bommōkyō says: 'You, all Buddha's children, hear me attentively; think well (about my words) and make your conduct conform to it. I have practised already for hundreds of innumerable *kalpas* the qualities (of Bodhisattvas) and the stages (of perfection), and taken them as my guide. At the beginning I abandoned the worldly (life) and attained *samyak-sambodhi*. I am called Locana. I dwell on the lotus throne which contains the worlds and oceans. [The grammar of this passage is obscure, but the Japanese engraver has understood it thus]. This throne is surrounded by one thousand petals. Each petal being a world, it makes one thousand worlds. I metamorphose myself producing one thousand Śākyas, conforming to the one thousand worlds. Further, on each petal which is a world there are a hundred million Sumerus, a hundred million suns and moons, a hundred million worlds each in four parts, a hundred million Jambudvīpas, a hundred million Bodhisattva-Śākyas, who are sitting under a hundred million *bodhi* trees, each of them preaching the qualities and stages of a Bodhisattva about which you have just inquired. Each Śākya of the remaining nine hundred and ninety-nine Śākyas produces thousands and hundreds of millions of Śākyas, who do the same. The Buddhas on the thousand petals are transformations of myself, and thousands and hundreds of millions of Śākyas are the transformations of these thousand Śākyas. I am their origin and my name is Locana Buddha.'

"This great Buddha in the Tōdaiji is represented sitting on a lotus throne. On each petal of the lotus flower is represented one of the thousand great Śākyas who are the emanations of Locana."

On the upper part of the petal is engraved the picture of the Great Śākyā, who is sitting on a throne and preaching. Under his throne is represented the Grand Chiliocosm. The engraver has depicted the *arūpyadhātu*, the *rūpadhātu* and the *kāmadhātu*. In the lowest part of the petal is engraved the Sumeru world with mount Sumeru in the middle. This mountain has four terraces. On the bottom of the petal is engraved a sea. The statue of the Great Buddha was inspired by the passage translated above from the *Bommōkyō*; the details on the petals, inspired by other *sūtras* and *śāstras*, are there to show the relation of the whole world from here below up to the Great Enlightened Deity.³

The whole monument proves that an exact symmetry reigned between the state organization and the religious cosmology in the Japanese Buddhism of the 8th century. The two organizations are correlative and this is why the emperor identifies himself with the central deity, taking the name of Locana.

In *Weltbild und Bauform Sudostasiens*, M. von Heinegeldern has noted the application of similar principles in the Indo-Chinese and Indonesian kingdoms. The Burmese look upon the *prāsāda* which roofs the throne-room at Mandalay as the centre of the world. It is to imitate Indra that the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese kings had thirty-two vassals, and it is probably in view of an assimilation with Sudarśana, the city of the gods, that the capital of the kingdom was sometimes provided with 32 doors which corresponded to the 32 divisions of the kingdom. As a matter of fact, the *Glass Palace-Chronicle of the kings of Burma* says that the city of Śrīkṣetra has been drawn by Indra after the model of

3 S. Elisseeff, *The Bommōkyō and the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji*, *HJAS*, I, 1, pp. 88-95.

Sudarśana.⁴ In Burma, the king and his 32 vassals identify themselves with Indra, chief of the group of the Thirty-three gods, just as in Japan the emperor, surrounded by his dignitaries, identifies himself with Locana in the middle of the 1,000 Great Śākyas.

The Chinese messenger Tcheou Ta-kouan, speaking of the Bayon which is in the centre of Angkor, the capital of the old Cambodia, said: "To mark the centre of the kingdom there is a gold tower, surrounded by more than twenty stone towers."⁵ The Bayon, then, must have been, to use Heine-geldern's own expression, the magical centre of the kingdom." Erected in the centre of Angkor, this temple is made of some fifty towers, linked together by galleries. Each tower bears, looking towards each point of the compass, four big stone faces crowned by diadems. In the ground of the big tower, the idol which was worshipped in the centre of the Bayon, has been found: a Buddha three meters high, in which M. Chodès recognizes the image of the Devarāja, that is to say, of the God-King. In the Śivite sanctuaries, the Devarāja was the great *liṅga* of the kingdom; worshipped in the central temple of the capital, he personified both the king of the gods and the king of men. In the Bayon, the central temple of Angkor, the Devarāja is personified by the great statue of the Buddha, venerated in the great central tower. In this image, both the Great Enlightened and the sovereign of Cambodia are represented. As to the stone faces which adorn the fifty towers, epigraphy tells us that they stand for a whole pantheon of deities, Brahmanical as well as Buddhist: Viṣṇu, Śiva, Pārvatī, the Medicine Buddha, the Lion of the Śākyas.⁶

4 Pe Maung Tin and Luce, *Glass Palace Chronicle*, Oxford, 1932, pp. 14-15; Heine-Geldern, *Weltbild und Bauform*, pp. 45 ff. P. Mus, *Barabudur*, BEFEO, 33, pp. 701 ff.

5 P. Pelliot, *Mémoire sur les coutumes du Cambodge*, BEFEO, 2, p. 142.

6 G. Chodès, *Notice archéologique du Bayon*, in Dufour-Carpeaux, *Le Bayon d'Angkor-Thom*, Paris, 1914, t. II, p. 30.

In a recent communication to the Academy of Inscriptions, M. P. Mus, having exposed those facts, proposed a clever explanation for them. "Four faces," says M. Mus, "resume space entirely because they mark the four principal directions.....", "Brahmā does not possess four heads, his face is just one and it can be seen from everywhere. Four orients are the whole of space. Four faces are the symbol of a power which reigns over space." And M. Mus adds that the Great Buddhist Miracle proceeds in a large way from similar ideas. He quotes a part of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* where the Buddha of the Great Miracle is compared to Brahmā. "He is like the Great King Brahmā, who rests in his palace of the Brahma world, whilst everywhere, in the numberless thousands of worlds, bodies of Brahmā can yet be seen."⁷

M. Mus concludes that when the architect represented a four-faced personage on the Bayon towers, he wanted to figure "the royal power blessing the four orients of the country." But why, then, this multiplicity of gods who are worshipped in the Bayon towers? We know that Jayavarman VII, who built the temple, "bore a special reverence to the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara, *alias* Avalokiteśvara. Now, the *Lotus of the Good Law*, a fundamental text, endows this personage with a faculty to assume all kinds of shapes, so that he may gather knowledge and save the creatures. He shall borrow, whenever it is useful, the features of a Buddha. But there is a particle of Truth, a primitive impulse towards Good in every cult, and Avalokiteśvara shall be, according to his will, either a great or a middle or a small Brahmanic god..... Appearing to each man under the exact shape of the god whom he worships and One, however, under this diversity, does not Lokeśvara deserve fully the name of *Samantamukha*, 'face everywhere', given to him by the book, and which is inspired by the power formerly ascribed to Brahmā?.....It is because he has a part in the *dharmakāya* that Lokeśvara enjoys his transcendental powers. Jayavar-

7 *Taisho Issaikyo*, no. 278, Vol. IX, p. 618b.

man wants to associate with him. Together with Lokeśvara, in Lokeśvara, in every place where his subjects adore a god, at Vajrapura, at Chok Gargyar, the king is this god. In the whole universe, Lokeśvara,—over entire Cambodia, Jayavarman,—the Bodhisattva and the king are equally 'face everywhere'. And if the monument, by the disposition of its shrines, is like a positive map of the country, it is only to the scope of illustrating, and perhaps of contributing to assure magically, the penetration of the king's subtle essence all over the kingdom."⁸

These conclusions are illuminating. One point only is open to a slight criticism. If Lokeśvara assumes the shape of a Brahmanical god as well as that of a Buddha, it is not because "there is a particle of truth" in the Brahmanic religion as in the Buddhist, but rather because Indian gods are Brahmanic and Buddhist at the same time. In all periods, and more particularly in that of the Mahāyāna, Buddhism is a syncretism where the Brahmanic mythology comes in for an important part. This is why Lokeśvara, who has so many points in common with Śiva, is the king of the gods like him, or rather each god is just another shape of Śiva-Lokeśvara.

We are, now, in a much better position to understand the Buddhology of the Barabudur, because the religion which finds its expression in this monument, is also a syncretism where Śivaism and Mahāyānist Buddhism are mingled together. The three upper terraces of the Barabudur bear, as we have said, 72 small *stūpas*, with a 73rd and bigger *stūpa* in the middle. The identities of the personages carved in these *stūpas* have been much discussed. According to Dr. Krom, above the five Dhyāni-buddhas which are seen on the square terraces, it is their chief, Vajrasattva=Vajradhara, who was worshipped in the *stūpa* of the circular terraces. This opinion has been criticized by M. Mus. The

8 P. Mus, *Le symbolism à Angkor-Thom: le "Grand Miracle" du Bayon*, in *Compte rendu de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, sitting of the 21st February, 1936.

latter objects that Vajrasattva, the chief of the five Dhyāni-buddhas, does not appear in the older layer of the redaction of the *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan*. He comes in the more recent layer of this treatise only, and not, even then, as a sixth Dhyāni-buddha, but as a substitute for Akṣobhya.⁹ Besides, M. Toganoo believes that the Buddha of the terminal *stūpa* of the Barabuđur is Akṣobhya, and for him the *Buddhas* of the 72 small *stūpas* are Vairocana, and the symbols of the 72 t̃āntric *guṇas*.¹⁰

Does it seem possible to offer a solution which would comply with the suggestions and the criticisms of the three archaeologists? We must not forget that there is a close link between Akṣobhya and Vajrasattva: on the crown worn by the latter, there is a face of Akṣobhya. Vajrasattva is one of the shapes of Akṣobhya: he is Akṣobhya in his *saṃbhoga-kāya*.¹¹ It will no doubt be admitted that the Buddha of the terminal *stūpa*, like the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji, is the Great Enlightened, the essence of the Dharmadhātu, prefiguration of the Ādibuddha of Nepal. Under what name was he venerated at the Barabuđur? He may have been known as Akṣobhya by some of the faithful. If the terminal *stūpa* contained Akṣobhya in his *dharmakāya*, the Buddha of the 72 smaller *stūpas* would be Akṣobhya in his *saṃbhogakāya*.

The names of the personages, however, are here of minor consequence. The main point is to admit that the Buddhas of the 72 small *stūpas* are the manifestations of the same essence which has its symbol in the Buddha of the terminal *stūpa*. And this brings us back to the symbolism of the Tōdaiji and of the Bayon, but at the Barabuđur, the symbolism is more complex and announces already the Ādibuddha system of Nepal, for at Barabuđur the essence of the *dharmadhātu* is shown under three hypostasis: the Buddha of the terminal *stūpa*, the Buddha of the 72 small

9 P. Mus, *ibid.*, pp. 350-351.

10 See Report by M. Demieville in *Bibliographie bouddhique* V, no. 450.

11 P. Mus, *ibid.*, p. 351.

stūpas and those of the square terraces. These three hypostasis remind us not only of the three *kāyas* of the Buddha, but not the system of Nepal also: Ādibuddha, Dhyānibuddha, Mānusi-buddha.

Before we proceed any further in our study of the similitudes between the several systems, it is necessary to examine an evident difference. At the Tōdaiji, the Great Śākyas which surround the central Buddha are 1000 in number. In Burma, the number which defines the royal and divine court is 33 (1+32). At the Bayon, there are some fifty towers. At Barabudur, the symbolical number is 73 (1+72).

For Mr. Toganoo, this last number is explained by the fact that there are 72 *tāntric guṇas*. But this number may also have been suggested by iconography, or in regard to architectural symmetry. Two explanations offer themselves, not at all irreconcilable.

The three circular terraces of the Barabudur may be seen from four sides, as the basis of the monument is a pyramid. The terraces becoming smaller and smaller, the little *stūpa* that could be placed upon them had to get fewer in number: eight on the lower terrace, six on the middle one, four on the upper terrace, that is $8+6+4=18$ for each side, and a total of $18 \times 4 = 72$. The reason of an architectural symmetry might then account for the number 72.

Besides, at the beginning of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, a ray of light issues from the circle of hair which grew between the Bhagabat's eyebrows. This ray is directed towards the 18,000 countries of the Buddha situated on the east.¹² 18,000 countries for one of the four orients make a total of 72,000 countries of the Buddha. The disposition, at the Barabudur, of the 72 small *stūpas* around the terminal *stūpa* is identical with that of the 72,000 countries of the universe around the centre of the world. It seems likely that the architect, not being able to represent the 72,000 Buddhas who reside in the 72,000 countries, has satisfied himself by putting in 72 only,

¹² *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, f. 4b., cf. transl. by Burnouf, p. 4.

in order to suit both convenience and symmetry. 72 and 72,000 are just conventional numbers, chosen to give an idea of the numberless manifestations of the Great Enlightened. Likewise, when the sculptures show Avalokiteśvara with forty arms, when the texts call him Avalokiteśvara of the thousand arms, 40 and 1000 are conventional numbers again, designed to mark the numerous activities of the god.¹³

Whether he has 33 shapes as in Burma, 50 shapes as at the Bayon, 73 as we see at the Barabudur or 1001 as at the Tōdaiji, the essence of the *dharmadhātu* is always the Great One and Only which fills up the universe. At Java, as in Indo-China, as in Japan, the sovereign identifies himself with him. That is why in the empire of the Śailēndras, the name Śailendra belongs to both the king and the king of the gods. Śailendra then, could mean not only the dynasty, but Śiva-Buddha also, who was the highest entity in the Javanese religion. We know enough now to engage upon the study of an obscure question. Which was the statue contained in the terminal *stūpa* of the Barabudur?

The point is a strongly contested one. The first European visitors have not seen anything below the terminal *stūpa*, all blocked up by scattered fragments. In 1842, Resident Hartmann ordered excavations to be made, no authentic report of which has reached us, and an unfinished statue of Buddha would have been discovered then in the ruins. M. Foucher has proposed to recognize in this statue a reproduction of the famous one seen by Hiuan-tsang on the actual place of the Bodhi.¹⁴ This statue, which showed Śākyamuni in the moment of the Māravijaya, was also an unfinished statue. On the contrary, Dr. Krom thinks that originally the *stūpa* contained no image whatever, and that some relics had only been put there. Dr. Stutterheim believes that the *stūpa* contained the unfinished statue of a supreme and bodiless Buddha. M. Mus does not see that

13 About the statues of Avalokiteśvara, the thousand arms of which are customarily represented by forty, cf. Waley, *A Catalogue of paintings recovered from Tun huang* by Sir A. Stein, p. 31.

14 The unfinished Buddha of the Boro-Budur, BEFEO, t. 3, pp. 78-80.

the identification proposed by M. Foucher should be damaged radically by Dr. Krom's objection.¹⁵

In short, the authors hesitate between two hypotheses: (1) there was no statue at all in the terminal *stūpa*, (2) there was an unfinished statue, the same which Dr. Krom describes as a "rough lump, thicker at one side than the other." Both hypotheses seem hardly likely. I wish to be allowed the suggestion of a third one.

According to Indian tradition, mount Meru is a mountain of gold. In the inscriptions of Cambodia the royal mount is of gold also. The central tower of the Bayon is called by Tcheou ta kouan, the gold tower. The ideas of gold and the cosmic mountain are closely bound together. As it was impossible to make a real gold mountain, would not the idea have arisen of replacing it by a lump of gold, placed at the centre of the world? Let us recall to mind the importance of the gold coating on the great statue of the Tōdaiji. The Japanese authorities were anxious to find the precious metal in Japan. National gold was necessary in order to realize the mystical union of the empire with the Great Enlightened. It was desirable, then, that there should be in the centre of the empire a statue of gold, or at least of gilded bronze, because it was the point wherefrom the power radiates which creates the cosmic and the social order.

This theory finds its confirmation in a Chinese text relative to the empire of San-fo-ts'i. It is extracted from the *Chu fan Chi* of Chau Ju-kua written in 1226. "There is an idol (literally "a Buddha") which is called the idol of the Mountain of Gold and Silver. Its statue is cast in gold. Each king just before mounting the throne, causes his own image to be cast in gold to replace that statue. Vases and plates of gold are made and solemn homage is paid to that image. The golden statue, the vases and plates, all of them bear inscriptions so that the future generations may not destroy them."¹⁶ The Mountain of Gold and Silver could

¹⁵ Statement of the controversy in P. Mus, *Barabudur*, t. 32, pp. 344 ff.

¹⁶ Bibliography and discussion relative to this quotation in *JGIS.*, II, 1, pp. 35-36.

only be the cosmic mountain, or its replica. The emperor being identified with the king of the gods must be enthroned on the cosmic mountain: that is why his golden statue is placed on the top of it and he is worshipped there. What Chau Ju-kua writes in 1226 about the king of San-fo-ts'i, alludes to politico-religious concepts which lie at the origin of the Barabudur. Then it is likely that the statue placed in the terminal *stupa* was a gold statue, and this might suffice to account for its disappearance.

Besides, some narrations, the origins of which are not certain, accuse Resident Hartmann of having found a little gold statue in the *stupa*, and of having stolen it: he would have put the big unfinished statue at the same place in order to divert suspicion.¹⁷ This is not the place to judge Resident Hartmann for such an accusation. But it not infrequently happens that some such legend hundreds of years old is ascribed much later to a recent date. This explains how some old traditions relative to the theft of the statue may have been put down finally to the credit of the 1842 excavations.

In short the Barabudur is a reduction of the cosmic mountain surmounted by 73 *stupas*. Consequently, it is difficult to look upon it as only a *stupa*. At any rate it is widely different from the old Indian *stupa*. It is an imperial construction designed, like the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji, to seal the mystical union of the empire and of the universe. The emperor, king of the mounts (Śailendra), identifies himself with the supreme deity in the central *stupa*. This Devaraja is at the same time Akṣobhya, Bhaṭṭāra Buddha and Śiva-Buddha. Under which one of those names was he more generally adored? It is impossible to tell. But we must refrain from simplifying the Barabudur. The central deity must have been conceived in a different way by the initiated and by the humble subjects of the kingdom. It is permissible to suppose that different names corresponded to the different concepts.

17 Cf. P. Mus, *Barabudur*, t. 32, p. 346.

Kuñjarakuñjadesa of the Changgal Inscription

By Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra

It is now over half a century since the stone inscription of king Sañjaya was discovered at Changgal, Central Java, and first published by the famous Dutch Indologist, Prof. H. Kern.¹ It has since been further commented upon on various occasions. The epigraph is fairly well preserved, except that the slab has chipped off at a few places, causing short gaps in some lines of the writing. While the main purport of the record, namely the establishment of a *śivaliṅga* by king Sañjaya, is clear, the lacunae in the text have given rise to some controversy over certain points of historic import.

I have elsewhere² had occasion to point out a few changes in Prof. Kern's reading, which might necessitate a modification in the generally accepted interpretation of this document. In the present paper, I draw attention to one such alteration.

Verse 7 of the inscription describes the island of Java (*yavadvīpa*).³ In the second *pāda*, two or three syllables have been lost. Consequently the sense of that portion is not clear. In the third quarter, while some three *akṣaras* are likewise missing, some others have been blurred. Still Prof. Kern has deciphered that part. His reading is: *Śrīmat-*

1 *Bijdragen*, deel 10, 1885, with a facsimile; *Verspr. Geschr.* deel 7, pp. 115-128.

2 *JASB (Letters)*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 34-37, with a photographic reproduction of the inscription.

3 The following is the text given by Prof. Kern :

आसीद् द्वीपवरं यवाख्यमतुलन्धा (न्या) दिवीजाधिकं
सम्पन्नं कनकाकरैस्तदमरै — — दिनोपाजितम् [१*]
श्रीमत्कुञ्जरकुञ्जदेशनिहि[तव]ङ् शादितीवाधृतं
स्थानन्दिव्यतमं शिवाय जगत्तश्शम्भोस्तु यन्नाद्भुतम् ॥

kuñjaraḥkuñjadeśa-nihi[tava]ñśāditivādhṛtam. It is this line that we are to discuss here.

It may be shown that the latter half of the above reading is hardly tenable. First the word *nihita* does not very well suit the supposed sense. Besides, the metre requires a long syllable where a simple [ta] has been suggested. The next conjecture [va]ñśād is equally unconvincing. Even if we accept it as right, the following *iti* is inexplicable. The succeeding *iva* likewise does not strike us as quite appropriate. Finally the word *ādhṛtam* has little sense. It is not met with in any Sanskrit work, though it can be conceived to possess a derivative sense of the word *ādhāra*. It will, however, be seen that Prof. Kern has taken this *ādhṛtam* to be an equivalent of *āhṛtam*.

Nevertheless, the above reading has passed as final, and on its interpretation various inferences have been based, which must necessarily be wrong, if the very text is incorrect.

In accordance with his reading, Prof. Kern translates the passage as follows: "and brought over from the <<race>>, as one calls it, established in the blessed land *Kuñjaraḥkuñjadeśa*."⁴

This phrase has thus been understood to qualify the Śiva sanctuary (*śambhoḥ sthānam*) mentioned in the last quarter of the verse. Prof. Krom, while commenting upon this, points out that it is impossible to have transported an entire temple from a distant land, as the above translation would suggest. He passes over this difficulty by taking into account the word *iva* which Prof. Kern seems to have left untranslated.⁵ His explanation is thus: "as if it were brought over" as against Prof. Kern's "brought over." In this way Prof. Krom concludes that the Śiva temple of Java was not literal-

4 The original Dutch being "(en) overgebracht van den in't gezegende land *Kuñjaraḥkuñjadeśa* gevestigden <stam>, gelijk men het noemt."

5 Or perhaps Prof. Kern's "as one calls it" (gelijk men het noemt) answers to *itīva* rather than to *iti* only.

ly imported from *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa*, but was modelled upon one then existing in that land.⁶

This question of a Śiva sanctuary being "brought over" has, on the other hand, suggested to Dr. Bosch⁷ another idea. He sees an analogy between the Devarāja cult of Kambodia, a similar tradition in Campā and the present instance in Java. He thinks that there is a close connexion between Śiva, his *liṅga*, the ruling dynasty and a priest. The king represents Śiva and his majesty the *liṅga*, while the priest plays the part of a mediator who receives the primeval *liṅga* and hands it over to the founder of the dynasty as a palladium. Dr. Bosch supposes Agastya to be the priest in the case of king Sañjaya.

While in Holland during the years 1931-34, I had occasion to examine a photograph and a few estampages of the Changal inscription at the Kern Institute, Leyden. I read the passage in question as follows: *Śrīmatkuñjara-kuñjadeśani- — — ṅgādītīrthāvṛtaṃ*. This sounds, no doubt, absolutely different from what Prof. Kern has read. Still I venture to offer what I read from the impressions, and I remember Prof. Vogel agreed with my reading. I do not hazard filling the blank for three syllables. Seeing *ṅgādītīrthā*, however, one feels tempted to supply a *ga* before it and read *Gaṅgādītīrthāvṛtaṃ*. And this is not impossible, considering that the word *gaṅgā* has been used to indicate any holy river as well as the Ganges, the well-known Bhāgīrathī. The *aṅsara* after *ni* has been read as *hi*, whereas to me it looks more like *si* or *pi*. The next syllable has totally disappeared.

The altered reading would yield quite a different sense, namely: "surrounded by the holy places, Gaṅgā and so forth." And if this is accepted, then neither Prof. Krom's explanation nor Dr. Bosch's inference would prevail any longer.

6 N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd edition, the Hague, 1931, p. 124.

7 *Ibid.*, and *Tijdschrift*, deel 64, 1925, pp. 236 ff. and 271 ff.

In my opinion, the above clause has to be taken to qualify *yavadvīpam* "the Island of Java" rather than *śambhoḥ sthānam* "the Śiva sanctuary" of the verse. In this case the word *āvṛtam* may better be rendered by "studded with" or "abounding in."

It will, however, remain obscure, in what relation the foregoing *Śrīmatkuñjarakuñjadeśa* stands unless and until the succeeding three *aṅśaras* be properly restored. Probably the missing word was one indicating comparison. On this surmise we may explain the passage thus: "(the excellent island of Java was) as abounding in holy places like Gaṅgā and so forth, as the blessed land of Kuñjarakuñja."

It may be noted that Dr. Bosch brought in Agastya, even though the Chāngal inscription makes no mention of this sage. However, his association has been sought through the occurrence of *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa*. Prof. Kern, by way of identification, referred to the *Kuñjara* or *Kuñjaradāri* of the *Harivaṃśa* (st. 12393). This is, as has been pointed out by Prof. Kern, a region somewhere in South India, where there are a mountain created by Śiva and the abode of the sage Agastya. It may be observed that the worship of Agastya has been as popular in Java as in South India. This fact strongly favours Prof. Kern's identification.

Kuñjaradāri has later been located on the boundary of the Travancore State and the Tinnevely district in the extreme south of India, on the authority of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (XIV, 16).⁸

According to Messrs. Gangoly and Przyluski, *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa* is "a sacred site in Southern India on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra."⁹

8 Cf. N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd edition, the Hague, 1931, p. 125.

9 See above, Vol. II, p. 35; cf. O. C. Gangoly, *The Art of Java*, p. 4. Mr. Lakshminarayan Rao has kindly directed my attention to Anegondi, once the capital of Vijayanagara kings, at present the headquarters of a Zamindari owing allegiance to the Nizam of Hyderabad, situated on the north bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra. In some Sanskrit inscriptions of the 14th century this place is called Kuñjarakoṇa, a literal rendering of

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, however, supports the former view and opposes the latter, arguing that "the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* locates the Kuñjaradārī along with the Tāmraparṇī."¹⁰

In fact the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* does not locate any country, but gives, in six stanzas (XIV, 11-16), a jumbled list of the regions of South India. The statement: *Kaccho'tha Kuñjaradārī sa-Tāmraparṇī vijñeyāḥ*, does not, therefore, necessarily indicate that *Kuñjaradārī* is situated between *Kaccha* and *Tāmraparṇī*. While this last mentioned refers to the well-known river of that name in the Tinnevely district, no place is known as *Kaccha* in the same vicinity. We know of one *Kaccha* (Cutch) which is in the Bombay Presidency, to the north-west of Gujarat.

Bhaṭṭa Utpala, in his commentary *Vivṛti* on the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, quotes Parāśara who has drawn up a similar list of the countries, peoples, mountains and rivers of South India. This list is in prose and follows a different order of enumeration, yet not the successive. Here *Kaccha* is followed by *Bharukaccha* and *Tāmraparṇa* by *Nārmada*, while *Kuñjaradārī* stands between *Śūrpaparvata* and *Sambhogavatī*¹¹

The same commentator explains *Kuñjaradārī* by *Hastikhaṇḍā*. This shows that the territory might have been known under other equivalent names as well. On this ground the whole range of "the Ānaimalais, or elephant hills, which extend from the Coimbatore district southward into Travancore"¹² comes into consideration. The word 'Ānaimalai' is Tamil as well as Kanarese and is an equivalent of the Sanskrit *Kuñjarapārvata*. In the Sanskrit literature, however, this range goes under the name of *Malayagiri*. Ptolemy calls it *Bettigo*.¹³ "In the southern portion of the

the Kanarese Ānegondi. Cf. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. X, p. 299; A collection of the inscriptions on copper-plates and stones in the Nellore District, Madras, pt. I, p. 120; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1909, p. 89.

10 *Tijdschrift*, deel LXXV, 1935, p. 611.

11 Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, No. 12, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala, edited by Mm. Sudhakara Dvivedi, Benares, 1895, p. 289.

ghāts is the conical peak called Agastyamalai (6,200 feet), where the sage Agastya Maharshi, who is regarded as the pioneer of Aryan civilisation in Southern India, is supposed still to live as a Yogī in pious seclusion."¹² The Tamil term Podigei or Pothigei denotes the same peak.¹³ "The *Tāmraparṇī* river rises on the slopes of Agastyamalai, and reaches the plains of the Tinnevely district by the falls of *Pāpanāśam*..... This is a very sacred spot, with a Śaivite temple, and is visited by large numbers of pilgrims."¹⁴

It may now be shown that the summit Agastyamalai is the same as *Kuñjaraparvata*. Among the different meanings assigned to the word *Kuñjara*, one finds the following in the *Śabdaḥkalpadrūma*: "*deśabhedah/ iti Śabdaratnāvalī/ (parvataviśeṣah/ yathā Goḥ Rāmāyaṇe, IV, 41, 50: "tataḥ Śaṅkrahvajākārah Kuñjaro nāma parvataḥ/ Agastyabhavanam tatra nirmmitam Viśvakarmmaṇā"*)."¹⁵ I have had no access to the original sources quoted here; still it will be seen that the details given in the above stanza remarkably coincide with Mr. Thurston's foregoing description of the Agastyamalai.

The Bombay edition of Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV, 41, 34-36) gives a slightly variant reading.¹⁵ The commentary on the verse 35 points out that this *Agastya-bhavana* on the *Kuñjaraparvata* is the third place associated with Agastya, as occurring in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. As regards the other two,

12 E. Thurston, *The Madras Presidency*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 18.

13 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, edited by S. N. Majumdar Sastri Calcutta, 1927, p. 78; Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 2nd edition, 1927, p. 122, under *Malaya-Giri*.

14 E. Thurston, *The Madras Presidency*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 130.

15 *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki with the commentary (Tilaka) of Rāma*, 4th edition, Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1930, IV, 41, 34-36:

तत्र नेत्रमनःकान्तः कुञ्जरो नाम पर्वतः ॥३४॥

अगस्त्यभवनं यत्र निर्मितं विश्वकर्मणा ।

तत्र योजनविस्तारमुच्छ्रितं दशयोजनम् ॥३५॥

शरणं काञ्चनं दिव्यं नानारत्नविभूषितम् ।

one is a little to the south of *Pañcavaṭī*, the modern Nasik, not far from the source of the river *Godāvarī*,¹⁶ while the other may be somewhere on the mount *Malaya*, near the *Kāverī* river.¹⁷

It may be remembered that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* different countries are mentioned on the occasion when *Sugrīva* sends out monkeys in all directions in quest of *Sītā*. One may, therefore, expect that the narrative follows the successive order of the regions mentioned. This, however, does not seem to be the case. It may be seen that *Agastya* occurs twice in the same chapter, once on the mount *Malaya*, and for the second time on the *Kuñjaraparvata* as stated above. The former is followed immediately by a description of the river *Tāmraparṇī*,¹⁸ while the latter by that of the city *Bhogavati*.¹⁹ This last is apparently identical with the *Sambhogavati* of *Parāśara*'s list. Moreover it appears from the *Rāmāyaṇa* that the *Kuñjaraparvata* was situated somewhere in the ocean, beyond *Rāvaṇa*'s country.²⁰

16 Most probably it is the same as the modern *Agastipuri*, twenty-four miles to the south-east of Nasik. Cf. Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 2nd edition, 1927, p. 217. *Rāma*'s visit to this hermitage of *Agastya* is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, chs. 11-13.

17 Cf. the *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 41, 15-16 :

तत्र द्रक्ष्यथ कावेरीं विहतामप्सरोगणैः ।

तस्यासीनं नगस्याग्रे मलयस्य महौजसः ॥१५॥

द्रक्ष्यथादित्यसंकाशमगस्त्यमृषिसत्तमम् ।

18 *Ibid.*, IV, 41, 16-18 :

ततस्तेनाभ्यनुज्ञाताः प्रसन्नेन महात्मना ॥ १५ ॥

ताम्रपर्णीं प्राहजुष्टां तरिष्यथ महानदीम् ।

सचन्दनवनैश्चित्तैः प्रच्छन्नद्वीपचारिणी ॥१६॥

कान्तेन युवतीकान्तं समुद्रमवगाहते । etc.

19 *Ibid.*, IV, 41, 36-38 :

तत्र भोगवती नाम सर्पाणामालयः पुरी ॥३६॥ etc.

20 This is, however, not mentioned by the name *Laṅkā* or any other : but only by the term *dvīpa*. *Ibid.*, IV, 41, 23.

Leaving the discrepancy in the *Rāmāyaṇa* out of consideration, we may conclude that the modern peak Agastya-malai is the ancient *Kuñjaraparvata*, that the country on its slopes along the river *Tāmrparṇī* is identical with the *Kuñjaradarī* and the *Kuñjarakuñjadeśa*, and that the people of that territory might have gone to Java by the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.

Veda and Avesta

By Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh

[Contd. from Vol. II, No. 2.]

Both in Skt. and Avestan an Indo-European *s* undergoes a similar transformation after *i*, *u*, *r* and gutturals. It appears that already in the pre-Indo-Iranian age the Indo-European *s* in these positions had become an *ś*-sound, the exact nature of which cannot be determined. In Skt. this *ś*-sound further changed into cerebral *ṣ*. The Indo-European superlative suffix *-isto* appears as *-iṣṭ(h)a* in Skt. and *-išta* in Avestan. The sibilant of this suffix is the same as that in the comparative ending *-yas-* which appears both in Skt. and Avestan. The transformation of the dental *s* into *ṣ* in Skt. and *ś* in Avestan is therefore clearly due to its position after *i*. The suffix *-su* in Loc. pl. shows a dental *s* after *ā* but after *i* and *u* it is invariably *-ṣu* in Skt. and *-šu* in Avestan, cf. Skt. *agnī-ṣu*, *aktū-ṣu* and Av. *xšaṇri-šu*, *vaŋhu-šu*. The same change of *s* may be observed in both the dialects also after *r* and *k*, cf. Skt. *tṛṣṇā*, Av. *taršnō* : Goth. *ṣaursjan*; Skt. *ukṣitā*, Av. *uxšeiti* : Gr. *auxánō*.

This characteristic of Skt. and Avestan is however shared also by the Balto-Slavic languages, for in the original Balto-Slavic too the Indo-European *s* seems to have become an *ś*-sound in similar positions. The transformation of *s* into *ś* after *i* out of Indo-European *ə* may however be regarded as a peculiar feature of Indo-Iranian alone; even in the Balto-Slavic languages nothing parallel can be found, for in them, as in all other non-Indo-Iranian dialects (excepting Greek), I.-E. *ə* coincided with I.-E. *a* and therefore did not give rise to an *i* which might have wrought this change. Thus Skt. *kraviṣ* 'flesh', Av. *xrvišyant* 'blood-thirsty', Gr. *kréas* (<I.-E. **grevəs*). The Greek personal ending *-ásthēs* in 2. sg. aor. med. has its exact counterpart in the Skt. *-iṣ* Aorist ending *-iṣṭhās*. The initial vowel of this ending is *a* in

Greek and *i* in Skt.,—which proves that in the original Indo-European it was *ə*. Here we find again that an *i* < I.-E. *ə* has cerebralised a dental *s* in Skt.

In the field of morphology one of the most striking common innovations of Skt. and Avestan consists in the employment of *u* as the reduplication vowel in the present and of *i* or *u* as reduplication vowel in the perfect, particularly in the case of verbs with a radical *i* or *u*.

It is generally assumed on good grounds that the reduplication vowel was originally always *i* in present and always *e* in perfect, which latter naturally became *a* in Indo-Iranian. Yet this distinction between present and perfect was not preserved intact in any Indo-European dialect, and the original state of things in this respect was very much disturbed in the Indo-Iranian dialects. But what is of particular interest to us here is to note that the disturbances are exactly the same in Skt. and Avestan. In both these dialects *i* is still predominantly the reduplication vowel in present; cf. Skt. *tīṣṭhati*: Av. *hištənti* (: Gr. *hístēmi*), Skt. *sīṣakti*: Av. *hišaxti*, Skt. *īyarti*: Av. (*uz*) *yarāt*, etc. But the influence of the perfect reduplication with *e* on the present reduplication may be clearly perceived already in the Indo-Iranian era; cf. Skt. *dādāti*, Av. *daḍaiti*, though the corresponding Greek form *dídōsi* still shows the original *i* in the reduplication syllable. In the same way Skt. *dádhati* Av. *daḍaiti* (: Gr. *títhēsi*), Skt. *jáhāti* Av. *zazāhi*, etc.

The opposite influence of present forms on the perfect was however even more far-reaching, so that even the anomalies of present reduplication were transferred to perfect reduplication by analogy. In all this Avestan goes hand in hand with Skt. At first the present reduplication vowel *i* crept into perfect reduplication in the case of roots containing an *i*; cf. Skt. *didvéṣa*, Av. *didvaēša* (: *divi-*), Skt. *āsiṣāya*, Av. *āhišāya* (: *sāy-*). Gradually however this *i* made its appearance also in the case of some of those roots which contained no *i*; cf. Skt. *vivásvān*, Av. *vivaṅhušō* (: *vas-*). The only other quotable form of this type in Skt. is the doubtful *vivaḥvān* (from *vac-*?), but several examples may be quoted

from Avestan; cf. Av. *diðāra* beside *daðāra*: Skt. *dādhāra*, etc. In the same way the reduplication vowel *u* invaded the perfect forms after it was firmly established in present reduplication. It is quite evident that on the proportional analogy of *diṣṭáh*, *diṣáte*: *didiṣtāna* (imperative) a form *jujuṣtana* with an *u* in the reduplication syllable automatically came into being on the basis of the simpler unreduplicated forms *juṣṭáh*, *juṣáte*. Gradually in Skt. *u* became the normal reduplication vowel in present in the case of roots containing an *u*, but in Avestan the corresponding forms still often show the original reduplication vowel *i*; cf. Skt. *jújoṣate* but Av. *zizušte*. Yet the analogical *u* is found also in Avestan, cf. Skt. *śúśrūṣati*: Av. *susruṣəmnō*. From the present this analogical *u* gradually made its way also into perfect and in Skt. it became even the normal vowel in perfect reduplication in the case of roots containing an *u*, just as in present; cf. Skt. *ruródha*: Av. *urūraoda*, Skt. *tūtāva*: Av. *tūtava*, etc. Only two Skt. roots in *-ū* have retained perfect forms with the original *a* in the reduplication syllable, e.g., *babhūva* from *bhū-* and *sasūva* (beside *suṣuvé*!) from *sū-*. Yet Avestan perfect forms of the former prove that in the Indo-Iranian age both *a* and *u* could function as the reduplication vowel of *bhū-*, cf. *bābvarə* (perfect of intensive) and *boāva* (to be read as *buvāva*).

The peculiar passive aorist in *-i* used only in third person singular is another striking innovation of Skt. and Avestan, for which no parallel can be found in any other Indo-European dialect; cf. Skt. *āvāci*: Av. *avāči*, Skt. *śrāvi* (augmentless form in injunctive): Av. *srāvi*, etc. The origin of this form, which is so common in Vedic that it came to be substituted for the proper third person of any aorist middle that is used in a passive sense, is quite obscure. It is all the more striking therefore that in Avestan (and Old Persian) this isolated passive aorist form appears in exactly the same form and exercises the same syntactical functions.

Though not so obscure, but hardly less striking is the element *u* which characterises the third person sg. and pl. of imperative in active both in Skt. and Avestan. That

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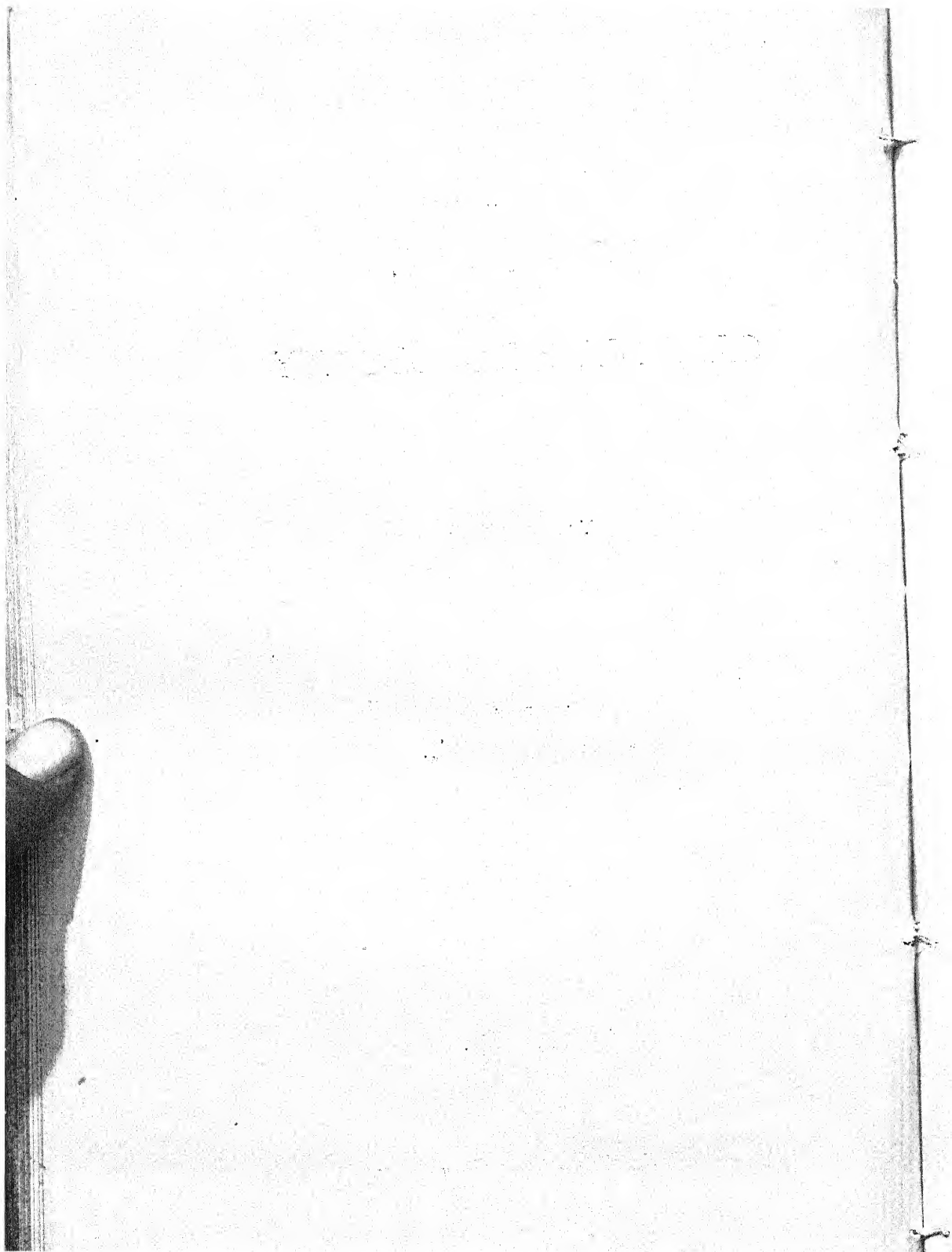
Vol. III (1936)

EDITED BY
U. N. GHOSHAL.

CALCUTTA.

1936

Published by the Greater India Society.



THE
JOURNAL OF THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY
CONTENTS

Volume III, (1936)

Articles	Pages.
Archaeological Explorations on the neck of Khair Khaneh (near Kabul), By Dr. J. Hackin ...	23
Contributions from the <i>Mahāvamśa</i> to our knowledge of the Mediaeval culture of Ceylon (II) By Dr. Wilhelm Geiger ...	139
Date of Išānavarman II By Dr. George Coedès ...	65
Greater India and the Work of Sylvain Lévi, By Dr. J. Przyluski ...	18
Kāliṅga Dynasty of Ceylon, By Mr. S. Paranavitana ...	57
Kuñjarakuñjadeśa and the Chungal Inscription, By Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra ...	...
Literary and Epigraphic Notes, By Mr. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar ...	108
Malay, By Dr. R. C. Majumdar ...	86
Non-Aryan elements in Indo-Aryan, By Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji ...	43
Old-Javanese <i>Korawāśrama</i> , By Dr. J. L. Swellengrebel ...	67
<i>Praśasti</i> , By Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya ...	1
Some Hindu relics in Borneo, By Mr. O. C. Gangoly ...	97

Source of, and a parallel to, Dionysius on the Beautiful, By Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy	...	...	36
Sources of the Art of Śrīvijaya, By Mr. Devaprasad Ghosh	...	...	50
Source of the Old-Javanese <i>Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin</i> , By Mr. Manomohan Ghosh	...	...	113
South Indian Portrait Bronze from Sumatra, By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri	...	...	104
Sylvain Lévi and the Science of Indology, By Dr. Kalidas Nag	...	...	3
Terminal <i>Stūpa</i> of the Barabaḍur, By Dr. J. Przyluski	...	...	158
Veda and Avesta (II), By Dr. Batakriṣṇa Ghosh	...	...

Alphabetical List of contributors

Bhattacharya, Pandit Vidhushekhara, <i>Praśasti</i>	...	...	...	1
Chatterji, Dr. Suniti Kumar, <i>Non-Aryan Elements in Indo-Aryan</i>	...	...	...	43
Chhabra, Dr. Bahadur Chand, <i>Kuñjarakuñjadeśa and the Changal Inscription</i>	...	...	...
Çœdès, Dr. George, <i>Date of Išānavarman II: The Inscription of Tûol kûl (Province of Mông, Cambodia)</i>	...	...	...	65
Coomaraswamy, Dr. A. K., <i>The source of, and a parallel to, Dionysius on the Beautiful</i>	...	...	...	36
Gangoly, Mr. O. C., <i>On some Hindu relics in Borneo</i>	...	...	...	97
Geiger, Dr. Wilhelm, <i>Contributions from the Mahāvārṇsa to our knowledge of the Mediaeval culture of Ceylon (II)</i>	...	...	...	139
Ghosh, Dr. Batakriṣṇa, D.Litt., <i>Veda and Avesta (II)</i>	...	...	...

Ghosh, Mr. Devaprasad,			
<i>Sources of the Art of Śrīvijaya</i> ...	...	...	50
Ghosh, Mr. Manomohan,			
<i>On the Source of the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa</i>			
<i>Kakawin</i> ...	...	...	113
Hackin, Dr. J.,			
<i>Archaeological explorations on the neck of</i>			
<i>Khair Khaneh (near Kabul)...</i>	...	...	23
Majumdar, Dr. R. C.,			
<i>The Malay</i> ...	...	...	86
Nag, Dr. Kalidas,			
<i>Sylvain Lévi and the Science of Indology</i> ...	...	...	3
Paranavitana, Mr. S.,			
<i>The Kāliṅga Dynasty of Ceylon</i> ...	...	...	57
Przyluski, Dr. J.,			
<i>Greater India and the Work of Sylvain Lévi</i> ...	...	...	18
<i>The Terminal Stūpa of the Barabudur</i> ...	...	...	158
Sarkar, Mr. Himansu Bhusan,			
<i>Literary and Epigraphic Notes</i> ...	...	...	108
Sastri, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta,			
<i>A South Indian Portrait Bronze from Sumatra</i>			104
Swellengrebel, Dr. J. L.,			
<i>On the Old-Javanese Korawāsrama</i> ...	...	...	67

Comment and Criticism:

(i) "The study of Javanese literature in India"

By Mr. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar

(ii) A Correction

By Mr. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar ...

...

Notices of Books. ... 118, 224

W. F. STUTTERHEIM, *Indian Influences in Old-Balinese Art* (O. C. Gangoly); K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, *The Colas* (U.N. Ghoshal); HARI PRASAD SHASTRI, *Teachings from the Bhagavad-Gītā* (Mahendra Nath Sarkar); J. GONDA, *The Javanese Version of the Bhagavad-Gītā*, (S.K.De); B.M.GOSLINGS, *Gids in het Volkenkunde Museum*, XIII, (H. B. Sarkar); J. PH.

DUYVENDAK, Inleiding tot de ethnologie van de Indische Archipel (*H. B. Sarkar*) ; *R. H. VAN GULIK*, Hayagrīva, The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-cult in China and Japan, (*J. N. Banerjea*) ; *J. GONDA*, Agastya-parwa, (*H. B. Sarkar*) ; Koninklijke Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut, (*H. B. Sarkar*) ; *ELIZABETH SHARPE*, The India that is India, (*K. N.*) ; *HARI PRASAD SHASTRI*, Book of Rām : The Bible of India (*K.N.*)

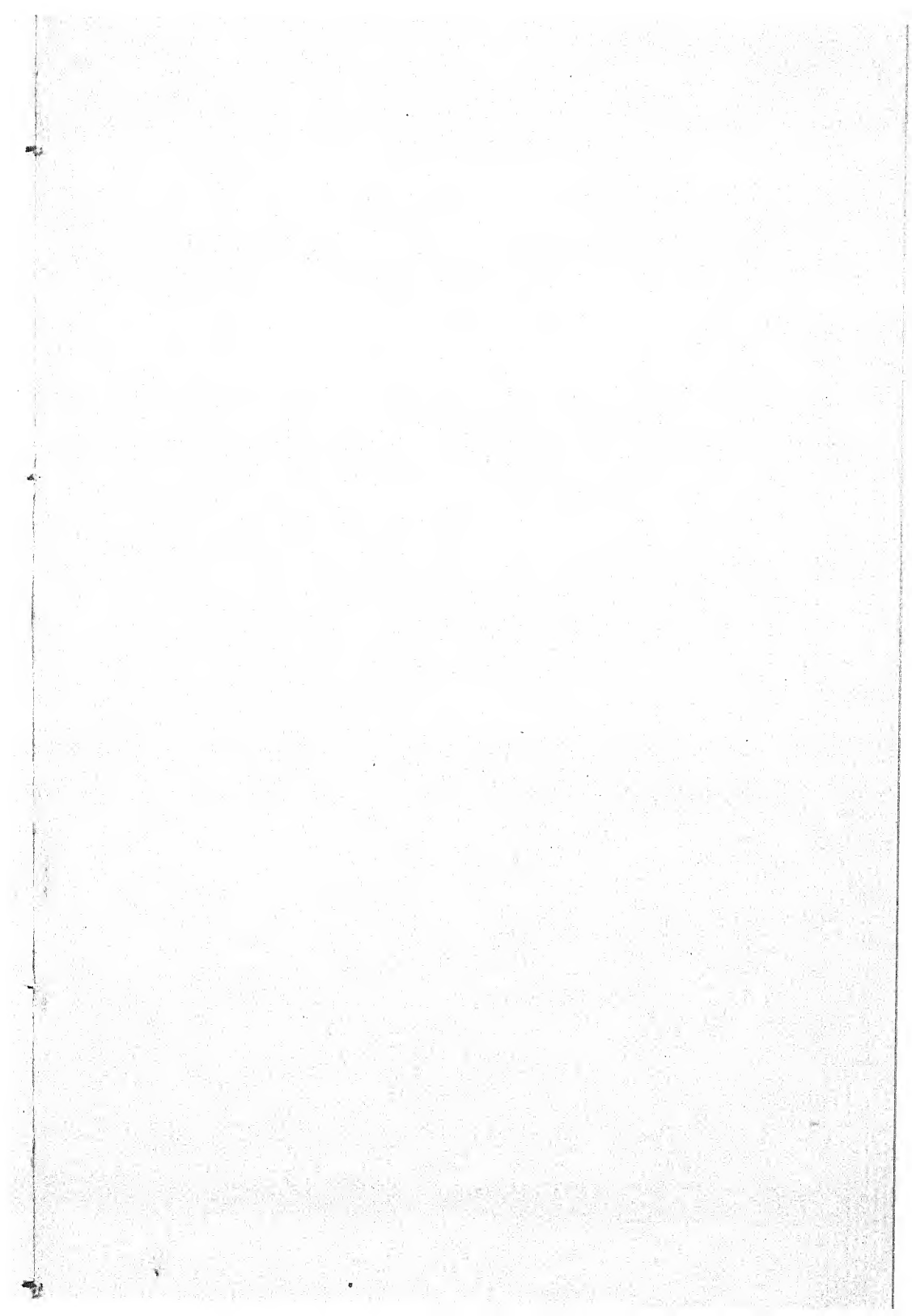
Obituary Notice:—

Dr. E. Obermiller (Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky) ... 211

Notes 214

Extracts from the Annual Report of the Society
for the year 1935-36... .. 214

Publications of cognate interest in other Journals ... 219



forms like Skt. *bhāratu*, *bhārantu* : Av. *baratu*, *barəntu* are nothing but proper injunctive forms extended by the particle *u* was recognised long ago. It is curious to note in this connection that the deictic particle *u* is very often used after imperative forms in the RV. and often it is an essential part of the form itself; cf. *éto* (*éta + u*), *tāpa* (*tāpa + u*). It is very probable that this deictic particle was permanently joined to the I.-E. injunctive forms in the Indo-Iranian age in two cases of special frequency and gave rise to the Skt. and Avestan imperative forms referred to above, for which parallel forms can be found in no other Indo-European dialect. In two other cases the personal ending of imperative exhibit analogous innovations both in Sanskrit and Avestan. In 2nd person sg. act. the usual ending is sometimes increased by *-na* in Skt., cf. *kār-ta*, *kār-tana*. A similar phenomenon may be observed only in Avestan, where we find both the forms *bara* and *baranā* side by side. In 1st pers. sg. both the endings *-ā* (subj.) and *-āni* are current in Skt. and Avestan and this is again a remarkable linguistic innovation common to both. The ending *-āni* very probably stands for **āna*, of which the element *-na* is doubtless identical with the *-na* of *kār-tana*. Now it appears that already in the Indo-Iranian age this ending **-āna*, clearly of subjunctive origin, had been changed into *-āni* on the analogy of 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. which ended in *-i*. It is curious to note however that the imperative forms in *-tāt*, which are abundant in Skt. and have their origin in the Indo-European age, cannot be traced in Iranian.

In noun inflexion many common linguistic innovations may be observed in Skt. and Avestan. One may conveniently begin with the ending *-nām* in gen. pl. which is so common in these two languages. The I.-E. gen. pl. ending was *-ōm*, both for consonant and vowel stems. But in Skt. although for consonant stems the older ending has been retained on the whole, a new form *-nām* has been substituted for it in the case of all vowel stems, the only exception in this respect being *devām* (for *devānām*) in the phrase *devām jānma*. Yet however, it is not altogether a specific Skt. or Indo-Iranian innovation, for it is very probable that the ending

-*nōm* used to be applied to feminine *-ā*-stems already in the I.-E. epoch, cf. O. H. G. *gebono*, O. Norse *runono*. Perhaps for *i* and *ū*-stems too the same old alliance with the ending *-nōm* has to be postulated, for feminine forms such as Lat. *reg-īna*, Gr. *aischūnē* prove the I.-E. antiquity of their alliance with an analogical *n*. But this is all that can be said in support of the pre-Indo-Iranian existence of the ending *-nām*. The *-ānām* of *a*-stems is an Indo-Iranian innovation. It is true that in Avesta the ending *-ānām* is met with only once (*mašyānām*=Skt. *martyānām*) and in all other cases we find only the ending *-anam*. But the latter may easily be a defective writing for *-ānām*, which is rendered all the more probable by the fact that in Old Persian the only form known is *-ānām*. On the analogy of *a*-stems those in *i* and *u* too began to employ *-nām* instead of *-ām*, and that already in the Indo-Iranian period, cf. Skt. *gīrīṇām*: Av. *gairīnam*, Skt. *vāsūnām*: Av. *vohunam*, etc. Yet Skt. is often left in the lurch by Avestan in these cases, for in it *i* and *u*-stems often take the older shorter ending *-ām* in gen. pl., cf. Skt. *sākhinām* but Av. *hašam*, Skt. *paśūnām* but Av. *pasvam*. This shows that Skt. has gone farther than Avestan in generalising the ending *-nām*. Skt. forms such as *nṛṇām*, *pitṛṇām* (derived from *r*-stems) and further *caturṇām*, *gonām*, *ṣaṇṇām* have no parallel in Iranian.

The declension of feminine *-ā*-stems shows again a series of striking common innovations in Skt. and Avestan. The case-suffixes for Instr., Dat., Abl., Gen., Loc., and Voc. singular of *-ā*-stems show peculiar forms in both these languages which cannot be found in any other Indo-European dialect. The old Indo-European ending *-ā* in Instr. sg. is also used for *ā*-stems in Skt. and Avestan, specially in the case of stems in *-yā* and *-tā*, cf. Skt. *sukṛtyā avīratā*, Av. (*uštānō*.) *čīnahyā yesnyatā*. (It is possible however that in both these cases the shorter ending is due to haplogy: *-yā* stands for *-yayā* and *-tā* for *-tātā* (i.e., *-tāt-ā*)). But in both the normal ending is the analogical *-ayā*, which was originally at home in the pronominal declension. The Dat., Gen.,

Abl. and Loc. sg. show dissyllabic endings in Sanskrit, characterised by the common element *-āy-* : *-āyāi*, *-āyāḥ*, *-āyām*. The corresponding Avestan endings are *ayāi*, *-ayā* and *-ayā*, the initial short *a* of all of which may be due either to defective writing or to the analogy of the ending *-ayā* in Instr. sg. In the other Indo-European dialects the corresponding case-suffixes are monosyllabic and such as would correspond to the Indo-Iranian endings if their common element *-āy-* were taken away. It is clear therefore that already in the Indo-Iranian epoch this *-āy-* came to be joined to the *-ā-*stems in all these cases. Only a guess can be made as to the origin of this *-āy-* : perhaps it is analogically derived from the *i/yā-*stems which have the endings *-yai*, *-yāḥ* and *-yām* in Dat., Gen., Abl. and Loc. sg.; cf. *devyai*, *devyāḥ*, *devyām*. In the original Indo-European the *-ā-*stems came to have the same ending *-āi* both in Loc. (*-ā + i*) and Dat. (*-ā + ai*). The postposition *ā* was attached to the Locative ending in the Indo-Iranian epoch¹ to distinguish it from the Dative ending,—whence Avestan *.*āyā*. Further extended by the mobile element *-am*, which plays such an important part in nominal and pronominal declension in Skt., it gave rise to the Skt. ending *-āyām*. On the analogy of this *-āyām* on the one hand and the endings *-yai*, *-yāḥ*, *-yām* of *i/yā-*stems on the other, the element *-āy-* was introduced also into the endings of Dat. and Gen., Abl. of *-ā-*stems in Skt. and Avestan (Bartholomae, Wackernagel). Lastly in Voc. sg. the *-ā-*stems both in Skt. and Avestan have the ending *-e* (in Avestan beside it also the ending *-a*) which cannot be paralleled by any other Indo-European language; cf. Skt. *sarame*, Av. *razište* (but also *pouručištā*). The origin of this ending *e* in Voc. sg. is quite obscure, and it is all the more striking therefore that it is common both to Skt. and Avestan. In the other I.-E. languages the Voc. sg. ending of *-ā-*stems is usually *-a*, which may be either derived from *a* or, as the analogy of *i*- and *u*-stems suggests, may be

¹ Or even still earlier, for the *ā*-stems in Lithuanian too seem to have extended the Loc. sg. ending by the post-position *e*; cf. Lith. *-oj-e*, but O. Ch. Sl. *-e*.

simply the shortened form of the radical \bar{a} in unstressed position; cf. Gr. $\acute{o}\phi\eta\varsigma$: $\acute{o}\phi\eta$, $\acute{p}\acute{e}\chi\upsilon\varsigma$: $\acute{p}\acute{e}\chi\upsilon$, $\acute{n}\acute{u}\mu\phi\eta$: $\acute{n}\acute{u}\mu\phi\alpha$. In no case however can this $-a$ be connected with the Indo-Iranian ending $-e$.

It is well known that in Skt. the $-i$ -stems take the ending $-au$ in Loc. sg. which is evidently derived from the $-u$ -stems. The original I.-E. ending in this case was $\bar{a}i$ (cf. Goth. $anstei$: Loc. $anstai$), and this ending actually seems to be retained in Skt. $Agnāy-i$, which, according to the genial interpretation of Brugmann, signifies nothing but "the female near *Agni*." With the exception of this sole instance in all other cases this original ending was replaced by the analogical ending $-au$, not only in Skt. but also in Avestan, for there too the i -stems, beside the regular ending, show the same analogical form in Loc. sg., though however the forms in question are used exclusively as infinitives; cf. $haθra.jatā$ 'to kill all of a sudden,' $hubərətā$ 'to nurse carefully' (the final \bar{a} of these forms stands for $-au$). On the strength of Greek forms like $pólēi$ (trisyllabic) < * $pólēvi$ (stem $poli-$) it was suggested that this analogical transfer of the case-suffix of Loc. sg. is even of I.-E. antiquity, for * $pólēvi$ was interpreted as * $pólēu + i$, of which $-ēu$ corresponds to Indo-Iranian $\bar{a}u$ and i is nothing but the original Loc.-suffix attached to the form at a later stage. Yet however these peculiar loc.-forms might have arisen independently on the soil of Greece as Brugmann has pointed out.

Beside the endings $-(i)yā$ and $-inā$, the only ones current in classical Skt., the $-i$ -stems often take the shorter ending \bar{i} in the older language; cf. besides $utiyā$, $matyā$, $dhās inā$ also $ácittī$. This shorter ending in Instr. sg. is again without any parallel in the other Indo-European languages if the Avestan is excepted. There, with one sole exception, namely $haša$ = Skt. $sákhyā$, the $-i$ -stems take only this short ending in Instr. sg., cf. $asī$, $čisti$, etc. Avestan $-u$ -stems similarly know only the shorter ending \bar{u} (written $-u$), cf. $mainyu$, $daēnu$, $vōhu$, etc.,—the sole exception in this case being $xraθwā$ = Skt. $krátvā$ (ending $(u)vā$). It is quite likely therefore that in the earliest Vedic the $-u$ -stems knew also the

shorter ending *-ū* in Instr. sg., though however no unambiguous form can be quoted from the extant texts to prove its existence.

All these and various other common linguistic innovations conclusively prove that Skt. and Avestan are to be regarded as a pair of twins within the brotherhood of Indo-European languages. Yet we have to bear in mind that neither Skt. nor Avestan represents a homogeneous language, —each of them contains a number of distinct dialects associated with different ages and regions. It is natural therefore that the earliest Skt. agrees best with the earliest Avestan. It is to be noted, however, that in various respects the oldest Avestan is more archaic than the oldest Skt. In the earliest Avestan *Gāθā*-dialect, for instance, the old thematic personal ending *-ā* (<I.-E. *ō*) in 1st. sg., is still retained, but even in the earliest Skt. there is no trace of it. Already in the earliest Vedic the athematic ending *-mi* has been generalised as in later Avestan. The working of Bartholomae's law according to which the group 'sonant asp. + surd' becomes 'sonant + sonant asp.', is again more archaic in the *Gāθā* dialect than in the earliest Skt., in which both the earlier and later forms are found side by side. I.-E. roots with initial and final aspirates appear with an initial aspiration in Skt. when the final aspiration is dropped, mostly on account of contact with an *s*. But there are not a few exceptions to this rule in older Skt. Thus the aorist stem of *dah-* (<**dhagh-*) is *dakṣ-* (not *dhakṣ-* as to be expected) and the desiderative stem of *duh-* (<**dhuḡh-*) is *dukṣ-* (not *dhuḡṣ-*). These *d*-forms appeared to be so anomalous to the Vedic commentators that in the *Padapāṭha* actually *dh*-forms are given for them. The reduplicated stems *baps-* and *jakṣ-* (derived from *bhas-* and *ghas-* respectively) are still more striking, for they have no aspirated form at all at their side. All this shows that the combination 'aspirate + *s*' exercised the same influence on a preceding aspirate as an aspirate alone. In other words we have to assume that at least in these cases the law of dissimilation had acted at a time when, due to contact with *s*, the final sonant aspirate had

not yet become unaspirated tenuis (*k-s*, *t-s*, *p-s*), but had given rise to combinations *gzh* (<*gh-s*), *dzh* (<*dh-s*) and *bzh* (<*bh-s*) (metathesis of aspiration according to Bartholomae's law). These sonant groups at once give the impression of being older than the surd ones. The apparent exceptions to the law of dissimilation are therefore nothing but the result of the same law acting at an earlier stage. Every doubt on this score will be set at rest if the Avestan forms are compared. In analogous cases the Gāθā -dialect shows only the sonant groups; cf. *diwžaidyāi* (-*bž-*, written -*wž-*, from -*bh+s-*), *aogžā* (-*gž-* from -*gh+s-*) etc. In the later Avesta however the surd groups sometimes occur; cf. *hangə,əfšāne* (-*fš-* from -*bh+s-*), *daxša* (-*xš-* from -*gh+s-*).

In a very few cases in the RV. a neuter plural takes a singular verb. In this respect, too, the Gāθā dialect is distinctly more archaic than the Vedic, for this incongruity is the rule in it just as in Greek. In later Avestan however such constructions are rare.

In comparison with later Avestan however, Skt. is distinctly more archaic, for later Avestan actually shows some of the characteristics of Middle Iranian dialects. Intervocalic consonants tend to become spirantic in it and the dual number is gradually got rid of. Confusion in the use of cases, already well-nigh hopeless in the Gāθās, becomes still more confounded in later Avestan. The various moods and tenses are no longer distinguished, subjunctive forms are used in indicative, and the prohibitive particle *mā*, which is connected only with the injunctive in the Gāθā-dialect just as in Skt., appears also in connection with the optative in later Avestan.

In striking contrast with all other Indo-European dialects Avestan, or Iranian as a whole, resembles Skt. in one important respect: the subsequent development of both, although absolutely independent of each other, has been strikingly alike. Phonology, morphology and syntax of Middle Iranian dialects are unmistakably analogous to those of Middle Indian ones. The same general tendencies, which were inherent in the two respective basic languages, found

expression in their later descendants in the same or similar ways. This is again a powerful, though indirect, evidence in proof of the close affinity of Skt. to Avestan.

Comparison with Avestan is therefore indispensable to an historical study of Skt. On innumerable points, both regarding general principles and particular details, Avestan throws light on the history of Skt. as the above rapid comparative survey has shown. Who would, for instance, believe that the original form of the familiar Skt. root *brū-* was *mrū-* if the verb *mrav-* was not actually found to occur in the Avestan?

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"The Study of Javanese Literature in India"

Under the above title Dr. Berg has published in the current number of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* some critical remarks on my *Indian Influences on the literature of Java and Bali*." It is not the custom to reply to a book-reviewer, but as remarks have been made which are not warranted by facts, not to speak of misuse of the superlative degree, I apprehend that silence on my part may mean acquiescence and have therefore been forced to write this reply.

In judging my work Dr. Berg has completely ignored the fact that it is written from an Indian point of view. The works which do not betray Indian influences to a great extent, as for instance the *Calon Arang*, could not demand the same attention as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhārata-yuddha*, or even the *Arjuna-vivāha*. The Javanese element in these works, though not unnecessary for understanding them as a whole, could not but appear to me as a side-issue, because my theme was not the Javanese elements themselves, but rather the Indian aspect of the Indonesian literature. Even then I did not neglect to point out as far as possible the Javanese element in these works. Reference may be made, for instance, to my studies on the *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin*, the *Korawāsrama*, the *Agastyaparva*, the *Arjuna pralabha*, the *Tantri kāmardaka* and other works. Moreover, it should not be forgotten (as Dr. Berg seems to have done) that of hundreds of old-Javanese works, not more than thirty or thirty-five have been so far published. For the rest we have to rely mainly on the MSS. catalogues. It is possible to ransack these thirty-five works for Javanese elements, but what about the rest? Any way, the Javanese elements have received the share of credit that is due to them in a work that principally deals with Indian influences on Indonesian literature. Dr.

Berg has raised another point. He says, "It is inadmissible to treat Middle Java and Eastern Java and their respective literatures in exactly the same manner It is necessary to keep one's eye on the differences existing between the two in order to judge correctly the final results of the influence of India on the literature of Java." This remark is out of place, since so far from treating Javanese literature as one organic whole I have described each work separately, analysing the Indian (and when possible, the Javanese) influences on the same. Dr. Berg knows fully well that the place of origin of most of the old Javanese works is not known, and as few of these works have yet been published, a comparison between the literatures of Middle and East Java is, to say the least, premature. These circumstances are so obvious that Dr. Berg should at least have referred to them. Regarding Dr. Berg's theory, enunciated in the *Hoofdtlijnen*, of 'parallel literature' (which has yet to be generally accepted) I regret I could not even refer to this, as the booklet reached my hands too late. I may, however, here be permitted to record my views on the same. Historical traditions of Central and Eastern Java are bound to be different on account of the diverse political and social factors at work in these two regions. These factors make a good case for parallel traditions but not for parallel literature, because, to judge from extant works, old-Javanese was the common vehicle of literature in Java in the ancient period. And my book is principally concerned with the ancient period.

The plan of my work has led me to consider the 'chronology of old-Javanese literature, the more so as each book has been separately treated. If in determining the date of one work I have become involved with other works, it is not my fault. Dr. Berg may remember that Prof. Krom, whom he quotes more than once, has, while discussing the *Smaradahana* (*Geschiedenis*, pp. 298-99) felt it necessary to utilise the data from the *Vṛttasañcaya*, *Lubdhaka* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* to elucidate the date of the first-mentioned work.

So far regarding the plan of my work and Dr. Berg's objections thereto. I shall now refer to the specific charges

made by him. Regarding the so-called Middle-Javanese literature, its position with reference to old and modern Javanese literature, and its chronology (between 1478 and 1682), I was guided by an article on Javanese literature published in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch oost-Indie*. Dr. Berg has adversely criticised this view, but in doing so he should not have ignored my further statement (*Indian Influences*, p. 11). "It must not be imagined that this division of literary epochs is absolute—it merely represents a rough classification of literary ideals and styles in three distinct diversified forms." Dr. Berg's remark regarding p. 160 ff. of my work misrepresents my view-point, for I tried to show that the date of some figures on the list, that of Udayan for example, exactly tallies with what is derived from inscriptions. Dr. Berg could have easily answered that this agreement of dates was accidental.

The impression which the critic has derived from the first few chapters of my work, namely that the Indian colonists turned Java into a miniature replica of Bhāratavarṣa is not correct so far as the interior regions are concerned. The mighty architectural remains, the *Record of It-sing*, the occurrence of Sanskrit inscriptions jointly indicate the great influence exerted by the colonists on the cultural life of Java, particularly on the colonised regions. I refer in this connexion to the struggle of languages—Sanskrit and Javanese—which resulted in the birth of *Kawi*, the artificial compromise language. How again can Dr. Berg explain the fact that 70 p.c. of the old Javanese words are of Sanskrit origin, that all the oldest inscriptions of Java are written in Sanskrit and the *Amaramālā*, the oldest dateable work (c. 750-850), is an attempt to teach Sanskrit? In the place of the Kalasan inscription, c. 778 A.D., however, I should now read the stone of Dieng, 809 A.D. This does not, of course, invalidate my main contention that the old-Javanese language arose from the struggle of the two languages.

On the date of the old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* there is no unanimity among competent scholars and it can hardly be expected that my view will be accepted by all. In studying

this problem I have placed the data in a new light. This has probably led Dr. Berg to make some remarks which are indefinite, except that the introduction of the *Vṛttasañcaya* cannot be relied on for ascertaining the date of the old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*. Any way, as this introduction has not been my mainstay, the acceptance or rejection of its evidence does not affect my conclusion. I wonder how one can reject without consideration the persistent and independent traditions tending to the same conclusion. While dealing with the *liṅga* of Krapjak in *TBG* 74, has not Dr. Stutterheim shown how a particular tradition can run on for a thousand years? Dr. Berg also forgets what I stated in my book, that my chronology explains the existing data on the problems of the *Rāmāyaṇa* better. If Dr. Berg can prove that the writers of the *Lubdhaka* and the *Vṛttasañcaya* are the same person, he will do a great service to Indo-Javanese scholarship.

It is not also true to say that I have "taken it for granted that the entire religious literature of the Hindus was transplanted to Java." While winding up the discussion on the religious literature of Java (*Indian Influences*, p. 79) I have said just the reverse thing: "The Javanese people thus accepted the principles of the social hierarchy of India and borrowed her religious views, but a substantial portion of her literature bearing on the subject practically remained sealed to them." Similarly Dr. Berg's statement that "the possibility that the *Vedas*, together with the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Upanishads*, *Sāstras* (a vague term, H.B.S.) and *Sūtras* may have been of as little interest to the Javanese as the Indian drama and several other branches of Indian literature, has seemingly not struck the author, and so he has not asked what were the causes of this phenomenon" ignores what I wrote on p. 396 and implied on p. 79 of my work. Whether the absence of this literature has to be attributed to the want of interest of the Javanese or the loss of *lontar*-records which were not duplicated in later times or whether the first *Brāhmaṇas* compelled by neces-

sity to intermarry with the aboriginal inhabitants conscientiously forbade the Vedic literature to polluted posterity in spite of the interestedness of the Javanese—is a question which may not now be answered with certainty. The last two possibilities have been mentioned in the book. With reference to Dr. Berg's remarks on pp. 44-45 of the *Annual Bibliography* I have not admitted the fact that the Javanese shadow-plays have re-oriented or transformed many Indian epic stories. In judging the *Wayang*-stories we should take Indian epics as the standard, because the outline or the inspiration has been drawn from them. So, if by working up Indian myths into *lakons*, the Javanese redactors make Nārada a clown or present Ghaṭotkaca and Abhimanyu as fighting over women, is that no harm to the Indian characters? Whatever be the motive for this transformation it cannot but appear to an Indian viewing the problem from the Indian standpoint (*Indian Influences, Introd.*, p. 1) that Indonesian presentation does scant justice to the original characters.

Dr. Berg finds my characterisation of the *Nāgarakṛtā-gama* as "more of a history than a poetical composition" to be wrong. May I put the query, what was the occasion for his explaining the name as "the history of the growth and blossoming of the kingdom" (*Inleiding*, p. 61)? As the work was written in verses the author was bound to pay attention to the verse-technique. Dr. Berg quotes the authority of Prof. Krom, but the latter scholar, while discussing the sources of old-Javanese history, has not included the *Nāg°* under the heading of literature and has referred to it (*Geschiedenis*, p. 10) as one of "the couple of historical works." Elsewhere (*Ibid.*, p. 14) Dr. Krom also refers to invaluable particulars of the *Nāg°*. Does he not also say (*Ibid.*, p. 19). " . . . It continues to be the history of the ancestors of the king glorified in a panegyric . . ." and that "he (Prapañca) is in general perfectly reliable"? There are at least half a dozen explanations of the name of Barabudur. From the nature of the case, certainty cannot be reached on such a question but one can never shut his

eyes to the possible alternatives. The theory about the Śaivite renaissance in 863 A.D. (misprinted in the *Bibliography* as 563) originally propounded by Dr. Goris in *Theologie* appeared acceptable to me when I wrote my book, but from my notes on the Pereng stone inscription to be published in this journal, it will appear that Goris's case is not so strong as I took it to be. Any way those who are acquainted with the influence of Śaṅkarācārya in India and the history of contact between India and Indonesia during this period, will not wonder if that were really so. Regarding Maduran literature, I should indeed delete the word 'important' but in respect of the Wawekan Dr. Berg's remark is, to put it mildly, a travesty of truth. In no place of my work have I accepted the data of the *Wawatekan* excepting in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and that for special reasons. As to the *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa*, Dr. Gonda's edition reached me when a few chapters of my work were already printed. The alternatives, open to me, were either (a) to rely on Friederich, or (b) not to refer to the work at all. I preferred the former course. I now gladly recognise that my reasons for a supposed period of Vaiṣṇavism in Java were not adequate. If I remember correctly, I was here led by an Encyclopaedia-article. As to another point, when an Indian author writes from India, the island of Sumatra is little indeed, but it does not seem so to one writing from Holland or Great Britain. If from my work (p. 71) Dr. Berg gets the impression that the Museum of Mojokerto is more important than those of Batavia and Leiden, that is unfortunate because I have said (*Indian Influences*, Introduction) that the major number of MSS. is not available outside Batavia and Leiden. Regarding the *Kuṇḍarākarna*, I fear I have been a little misunderstood. What I said was that the work "may be" of Western Javanese origin and that the "oldest MSS." has been found from that region: When other sources do not help us much, the find-spot of the oldest MS. offers provisional indication of its origin. Regarding the position of women in Indonesia I observed (p. 105), "The position of Indonesian women, though not very high, was at least similar to or a little better

than, that of their Indian sisters." Dr. Berg retorts, "Any book dealing with *adats* of the Indian archipelago might have told him that the position of women in Java is on the whole more favourable than that of their sisters in India proper." Allowing for Dr. Berg's confusion of the present for the past, is not this a paraphrase of my statement? Regarding his remark on p. 114 of my work, I cannot do better than quote Prof. Krom (*Geschiedens*, p. 11), "The method whereby the data have come to us is of two kinds The authors especially those of the poems, have frequently offered, at the beginning or at the close of their works, diverse informations regarding themselves" (*Italics mine*). I am, however, thankful to Dr. Berg for pointing out that I should have considered the possibility of Indian origin for the so-called "small metres." His remarks on *jinn* and the *usadas* may be correct. In the following line Dr. Berg has misunderstood me. I have referred to the chronograms not as fixing the date of particular works, but merely as "a mode of expression." As a mode of expression, they are certainly a legion. Dr. Berg may refer to the *Nāg°*. The explanation of the name of the *Tantu Panggelaran* by Kern appears doubtful to me now, but Dr. Berg's elucidation of the linguistic characteristics of two different epochs present in the work will be appreciated by all. Dr. Hidding's *Nji Pohatji Sang-jang Sri* is not yet available to me.

The possibility of the old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* being an independent creation is ruled out by the consideration that some portions of the old-Javanese text are an exact echo of the text of *Vālmiki* (*cf. Indian Influences*, p. 402). While referring to 1200 early Javanese versions, I doubted its correctness, but the name of Mr. Kats, I thought, was a sufficient guarantee for the genuineness of the information. I note what Dr. Berg says about the date of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and the alternative explanation of 'abilawa'. The old-Javanese recension of the *Bhagavadgītā* has been discussed by Prof. Gonda only recently, and I could not therefore utilise it for my work. To an Indianist, the Sanskrit ślokas of the old-Javanese *Mahābhārata* are of great value for solving the

problem of a complete recension of the Sanskrit text, and I have recognised their importance (*Ibid.*, p. 241). Before making the remark on Jaya-katwang, Dr. Berg should have noticed Krom, *Geschiedens*, (p. 296), which I have followed in some respects. Dr. Berg has certainly seen that my remark on the source of the *suluk* was based upon that of Stutterheim. My remarks on the *lakon Mintaraga* and on Damar Wulan were based upon Juynboll's article in the *Encyclo. Ned. Ind.* IV. The title *Koravāsrama* has not been used on pp. 325-35 of my work and Dr. Berg might have misunderstood the bearing of my statement on p. 325. I note, however, that my reference to the Bal. translation of the *Bhomakāvya*, based on Dr. Juynboll, is not correct. Dr. Berg writes that Poerbatjaraka has "certainly never written anything on the subject of Panji romances." Dr. Poerbatjaraka has certainly written on the same and it may be seen in *TBG*, LVIII, pp. 461-489. I recognise the importance of Dr. Rasser's researches, but the results are so startling that we shall have to await further light from other sources (ethnology for instance). The last part of the history of Majapahit falls between 1378-1478, and 1278-1478 is a printing mistake. Regarding the last note on p. 402 of my work, Dr. Berg has misunderstood me, as the earlier opinion refers to that of Kern which is no longer acceptable. My work is principally based on Dutch sources. If Dr. Berg has noted the foot-notes of my work, his remarks on my study of old and new Javanese languages would not have arisen at all. All books and articles concerning Indonesia do not reach India, but I have tried to make the best use of those available here. Dr. Berg recognises the importance of maintaining contact between the two poles of research. If Dutch and Indonesian scholars make it a point to present copies of their works to the Greater India Society, which centralises Indian intellectual curiosity on Greater India, the work of their Indian colleagues will be more fruitful and the task less arduous.

Unbiased readers may now judge for themselves what is the nature of Dr. Berg's "critical remarks." I do not pretend that my book is free from all blemishes. In a pioneer

work of this character small mistakes are inevitable, but they are not such as to provoke rancorous remarks from a sober scholar. Dr. Berg should remember that in old-Javanese matters there is always room for doubt and one should not misuse terms like 'certainly', 'unfortunately', 'goes too far', etc.

H. B. SARKAR.

A CORRECTION

In the previous issue of this journal (Vol. III, pp. 111-12) I wrote that the date of a Solo copper-plate (No. 193) was read by Poerbatjaraka as 849 Śaka and by Goris as 829 Śaka. In the same connection I observed that this latter date was contested by Stutterheim who subscribed to the reading of Poerbatjaraka. Dr. Stutterheim now kindly informs me that while discussing the Gorang Gareng plate, he did not contest the reading of the date by Goris. The misunderstanding arose from my inferring that the numeral 4 in the plate of Gorang Gareng (which Dr. Stutterheim considers to be certain) was also applicable in the place of 2 of the date in the Solo-plate, thus making the date run as 849 Śaka. In Old-Javanese inscriptions it is really difficult to differentiate between 2 and 4. I therefore very willingly delete the portion referring to Dr. Stutterheim.

H. B. SARKAR

NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Javanese Version of the Bhagavadgita. By J. Gonda, Utrecht. Reprinted from *Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Deel lxxv, 1935, pp. 36-82.

Of the Javanese adaptation of the *Mahābhārata*, only eight out of eighteen Parvans have so far been brought to our notice by the labours of the Dutch scholars. The present short but interesting paper is a study of the Javanese version of an important part of the Bhīṣma Parvan, viz., the Bhagavadgītā; it will appeal not only to the professional scholar but also to all those who take an interest in the history and adventures of the Great Epic.

In spite of the comparatively recent date (*circa* 1000 A.D.) of the Javanese version, which however precedes that of any known manuscript, it possesses a considerable importance for critical purposes as an independent testimonium. It does not, however, give a complete translation of the Sanskrit epic; it offers a more or less abridged adaptation, in Javanese, of the original. As such, it hardly affords much assistance for determining the complicated text-problem of the epic; but to the text-critic its chief value lies in the fact that throughout the Javanese adaptation are scattered direct quotations from the Sanskrit text, consisting of a Śloka, or a part of Śloka, or sometimes even a single word. As a rule, these Sanskrit excerpts are given in an extremely corrupt form, but are followed by a more or less literal translation into Old Javanese.

Dr. Gonda assures us that the paper under review is the preliminary to an edition of the Javanese text of the *Bhagavadgītā* which he is going to publish. His present object is to give an indication of the differences, as well as agreements, of the Javanese text with that of the Sanskrit epic; but he maintains that in order to do so it is necessary to study the entire Javanese text and not merely the Sanskrit quotations. Accordingly he gives us an English translation of the

Javanese text, with a rapid comparison of the contents of each Adhyāya with the summary of the Vulgate given by R. G. Bhandarkar in his well-known work, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*. Dr. Gonda finds that there is much that is missing or is skipped over in the Javanese version; but he comes to the general conclusion that "the Old-Javanese Bhagavadgīta, as we have it, is a rather good translation. He believes that the Javanese author has given only those parts of the subject-matter which he considered to be the most important, and deliberately left out the remainder. He has thus made his own selection and set forth, on the basis of his Sanskrit copy, the outlines of what Dr. Gonda calls a shorter Javanese Gītā. On the other hand, Dr. Gonda believes that in some of these points his text surprisingly agrees with the Kashmirian recension described by Schrader. Incidentally he discusses the relation between the Javanese text and the quotations found in Alberuni; but he himself admits that the result of his comparison is, on the whole, very poor.

It should be clearly understood that the value of the Javanese version, as indeed of all versions of the epic, depends upon the value of the tradition which it is found, on examination, to represent; and until this problem is determined it is possible to exaggerate its importance. It must not be forgotten that from time immemorial the epic existed in local versions; and that this process was not stopped even by scriptal fixation has now been amply demonstrated by the critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. It is indeed true that the Javanese version gives us a form of the text which is far older than our existing manuscripts, but it establishes nothing beyond the fact that it is evidence only for the text of the epic as it existed in that particular local form in that century and was known to the Javanese adapter. Like our manuscripts and like other versions, it is thus one of the evidences (albeit uninfluenced from that century onwards); but its collateral testimony does not prove anything regarding the character of the original Mahābhārata.

It is desirable, therefore, to determine the tradition of the Sanskrit epic which the Javanese author accepts. The agreements with the Kashmirian version would not be very surprising if it could be established that the Javanese version of the *Bhagavadgītā* followed the Northern Recension. If, on the other hand, it could be shewn that it followed the Southern Recension, then these agreements would not be secondary but original, and would, therefore, possess immense value to the text-critic. In this investigation, however, Dr. Gonda is naturally handicapped by the fact that no critical edition of the Sanskrit text of the part with which he is concerned has yet been published. Neither the Vulgate nor the so-called 'South Indian text is of much assistance in this direction, for they do not give us any idea of the text of the various recensions and versions. Dr. Sukthankar has shown that the text of the Sanskrit *Ādi-parvan*, which was followed by the Javanese adapter of the same, belonged to the Northern Recension. The Northern (Vulgate) version is also followed by the Javanese version of the *Udyoga-parvan*, the Sanskrit text of which the present writer has undertaken for the Poona edition. But it appears that the statement does not apply so definitely to the case of the *Virāṭa-parvan*. As a matter of fact, the problem is probably different for the different books of the *Mahābhārata*. It would be interesting and important, therefore, to know what recension was followed by the Javanese writer of the *Bhīṣma-parvan* in general and the *Bhagavadgītā* in particular. But the problem cannot be definitely solved until the critical edition of this *Parvan*, which would give us an exact idea of the different recensions and versions, is published.

Dr. Gonda's labours, however, must not, for this reason, be taken as fruitless. There cannot be any doubt that he has rendered a distinct service to the study of the epic text by translating the entire Javanese adaptation of the *Bhagavadgītā* into English. He might have also reproduced the Sanskrit excerpts, as he found them, and not as he wants to emend or reconstruct them, along with his translation of these passages. But he will probably do this when he brings out

his intended edition. In the meantime, all interested scholars will eagerly look forward to what he has promised and what he has ably justified by this short but highly suggestive essay.

S. K. DE

Gids in het Volkenkunde Museum, XIII. De Indianen en Boschnegers van Suriname: By B. M. Goslings, 127 pp. Issued by the Koninklijke Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut.

Some useful monographs have already been published in this series by well-known authors. The work under review, which forms No. XIII in the series, is meant to serve as a guide to the Ethnological Museum of the Colonial Institute and is devoted, according to our author, to the Indians and Bush-niggers of Suriname, as Dutch Guiana is usually designated by the people of the Netherlands. The title of the work, however, is somewhat misleading, as the book principally describes the handicrafts of the Indians and the Bush-niggers of Suriname, rather than the peoples themselves. The introductory portion of the work is aptly devoted to a short history of the place and to the above-mentioned inhabitants of interior-Suriname, specimens of whose handicraft preserved in six cabinets and other show-cases of the Museum have been consummately described by Mr. Goslings. The reproductions in the work show that some of the wood-work and pottery are of excellent workmanship. Mr. Goslings has well executed his work, but a map of Suriname would have increased the general utility of the book.

H. B. SARKAR

Inleiding tot de ethnologie van de Indische Archipel: By J. Ph. Duyvendak, forming Vol. I of the Indische Cultuur-Historische Bibliotheek, pp. 201, Batavia, 1935.

Within the last 50 years progress has been made in the study of the ethnology of the Indian Archipelago, but in many of its phases not even the rudimentary work has been done.

Though the present work is not comprehensive, it has sought to give a unity to the results of research achieved so far. The author has handled the data with ability and has produced an eminently readable work. His coinage of some ethnological terms (p. 71ff) is generally commendable. The work opens with a tirade against the use of the terms "Nature-folks" and "primitives" and recommends "Not-historical folks" as the most suitable one; he has not, however, discarded the use of the first two terms (pp. 32, 101, 102, 160, etc.). Pp. 19-27 have been devoted to a consideration of the people of the Indian Archipelago in respect of their Negrito, Weddoid, and Malay elements. As one person does not possess all the traits of a race, a plea for racial and cultural study for ethnology is made on pp. 28-29. The second chapter offers an ethnographic sketch of the Mentaweiers and is chiefly based upon the valuable studies of Alb. Kruyt. The succeeding two chapters, those on society and religion, are most interesting from the ethnological point of view and should provoke further research. The last chapter is aptly devoted to the culture-complex of the primitive and the modern world, and this brings the present work to a close. The bibliographical notes have greatly increased the value of the book. It may be safely recommended to those who wish to have a good idea of the subject without going through a number of text-books. The work should have contained an index.

H. B. SARKAR

Hayagrīva: The *Mantrayānic* Aspect of Horse-cult in China and Japan. By R. H. Van Gulik. Published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1935.

To investigate the origins of a deity belonging to a particular cult, as well as to trace its gradual development not only in the environment of its original sphere but also in its newer surroundings when it is included in the pantheon of another cult of the same culture-area is a task worthy of accomplishment. To do full justice to it, the researcher has to examine in detail all the available data of a religious

nature, especially in their mythological and ritualistic aspects from the earliest period onwards; for in this way alone, he can not only detect the different stages underlying the gradual development of the ideology about the particular divinity, but also to offer explanations for the successive changes. The importance of his task is further enhanced, when he tries to follow the migration of the above-mentioned god-concept into distant countries and to trace the stages leading to its inclusion into the ritual and mythology of these lands outside the culture-area of its origin.

Mr. R. H. van Gulik has set before himself this task in his recently published *Hayagrīva*, and it must be admitted that he has fulfilled it with credit. Though he limits his subject to the *Mantrayānic* aspect of the horse-cult in China and Japan, he has rightly prefaced his study by a brief reference to the nature of the Mahāyānic gods and a comparatively full treatment of the question about the first appearance of Hayagrīva in Indian mythological tales, closely associated with the cult of Viṣṇu. Hayagrīva first makes his clearly recognisable appearance in the epic literature of India. He was the deliverer of the Vedas from Madhu and Kaiṭabha, the two demons who stole them from Brahmā, and it was he who restored them to Brahmā. In certain (presumably later) portions of the great epic, however, Hayagrīva appears also as the name of a demon, an ally of Tārakāsura, who was an inveterate enemy of Viṣṇu and other gods and who was killed by Viṣṇu in the Tāraka War. Some late *Purāṇas* like the *Bhāgavata* and the *Agni* assign as the motive for destruction of this demon the theft of the Vedas by him. The god Hayagrīva, however, is now or even earlier, definitely incorporated in the list of the various incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu. The author has noticed all these points in detail; but his remarks (p. 17) that 'the passage in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (V, ch. 17) is the only one in the old literature where the horse-form of Viṣṇu is positively mentioned in the list of the Avatāras' and that 'this passage is a latter interpolation' are open to objection. Thus in the list of the 39 *vibhavas* (*avatāras*) mentioned in the *Ahīrbudhnya Saṃhitā*

(5.50 ff.), which according to Schroeder belongs to the older and authoritative group of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, Viṣṇu's Vaḍabāvaktra, *i.e.*, Hayagrīva form occupies the 11th position. So, Nābhādāsa's mention of the same form as the 18th *avatāra* of the Lord Viṣṇu in his *Bhaktamāla* is based on the much earlier Pāñcarātra tradition. As Viṣṇu has this form, so the demon Hayagrīva after his death in the hands of Viṣṇu in the Tāraka battle, assumes the shape of the horse-demon Keśin in the forest region of Yamunā (Yamunāvana) to kill Vāsudeva, another *vibhava* of Viṣṇu. The killing of the Hayaṛāja, *i.e.*, Keśin is referred to at least twice in the great epic, once in the *Droṇa Parvan* (5.3), and again in the *Udyoga Parvan* (130.47), where Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa's exploits both in his early and mature ages are being recounted respectively by Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidura; but here there is no reference to his having been an incarnation of the demon Aśvaśiraḥ.

In these stories we can certainly detect the various stages in the development of the myth-forms. If we try however, to seek for the nucleus of these myths in earlier literature, we tread on uncertain ground. The reference in the *Udyoga-parvan* (ch. 99) to the Hayaśira āditya who, on every auspicious occasion, rises from the Pātāla region and fills the world called *suvarṇa* with Vedic hymns, suggest that this passage marks an early stage in the possible development of the idea of Hayagrīva Viṣṇu who was an āditya, from the sun-horse conception of the Vedic period. The author draws our attention here to the horse-shaped Dadhikrā (Dadhikrāvan), mentioned in various hymns of the *R̥gveda*, who is none other than the sun-god himself conceived in a theriomorphic form. But it is curious that he should refrain from alluding in this connection, to the Vedic Ṛṣi Ātharvaṇa Dadhyañi who was endowed with a horse's head by the Aśvins in order that the twin-gods might learn from the seer the *madhuvidyā* which was taught to the sage by Indra or Tvaṣṭṛ. The author's reference to the efforts of certain scholars to connect Dadhīca with a horse's head with the general conception of the horse-headed figure (p. 17,

n.2 of his monograph) is not commensurate with the importance of the subject. The author, again, seems not to have been able to enunciate fully his proposition, viz., that the function as fecundity-symbol is credited to the horse on account of phallic considerations, to which category the identification of Hayagrīva and Viṣṇu and the Aśvamedha in general belong; it is indeed unlikely that this will ever be proved beyond doubt.

The early references to Hayagrīva, the restorer and the reciter of the Vedas fully prove that he was primarily a deity presiding over knowledge and wisdom. This characteristic trait is throughout maintained in the Brāhmanical conception about the god. The number of late manuscripts on *Mantra* and *Mantra Kalpa* centering around Hayagrīva, which is noticed by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri in his *Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts* (Vol. VI, Part I) for the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, clearly proves this point. The *Hayagrīva pañjaraṃ* begins thus: *Śrīhaya-grīvapañjaramantrasya Brahmā Rṣiḥ, gāyatrīchando Haya-grīvo devatā*, etc.; in the *Hayagrīva kavaca* (said to have been taken from the *Hayagrīva tantra*) we have:—*Oṃ Hayagrīvāya śuklavarṇāya jñānamūrtaye Oṃkāryā acyutāya Brahma-vidyāpradāyakāya svāhā*; the *Hayagrīva-stotra* begins with this couplet: *Jñānānandamayam devam nirmalasphaṭikā-kṛtim/Ādhāraṃ sarvavidyānām Hayagrīvamupāsmahe//*; and Vedāntadeśika, the great Śrī-Vaiṣṇavite teacher of the south aptly sings the praise of this god in his *Hayagrīva-stotra* in this vein: *Tuṣārādrisamacchāyam tulasidāma-bhūṣaṇam/ Turaṅgamamukhaṃ vande tuṅgasārasvata-pradam// Abhaṅgurakalādāna-sthūlalakṣatvamīyuse/ Tuṅgāya mahase tasmai turaṅgāya mukhe namaḥ//*. Many of the iconographic descriptions of this god substantiate this view; thus, the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* passage (Part III, ch. 80, verses 1-6) about the eight-handed form of Hayagrīva distinctly describes it as a part of Saṃkarṣaṇa (Sāṃkarṣaṇāṅga) who is himself that emanation of the lord (Paravāsudeva) in which two, viz., *jñāna* and *bala* of the six-fold *aśvarya* are specially predominant. The element of fear

underlying the character of this divinity in its Brāhmanical aspect is present to a certain extent; but this does never outweigh its primary trait. This fact has not sufficiently been emphasised by the author in the second chapter of his monograph. When the god-concept Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva was adopted into the cult of the Mahāyāna Buddhism as Vidyārāja Hayagrīva as an aspect of Avalokiteśvara as early as the beginning of the 6th century A.D., this characteristic trait was given a new orientation. This Vidyārāja the king of the Vidyādharas, the carriers of magical knowledge or magic power, came gradually to be conceived as a divinity with terrific features chiefly invoked for the fulfilment of one's desires and for *abhicāra* purposes, though its earlier placid and benign aspect is not totally lost sight of (cf. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, Pl. XLIII. 1). Certain Brāhmanical manuscripts of a late date lay down this fierce trait; thus, the *Hayagrīvāstram* (Kuppuswami Sastri, *ibid.*) begins with 'Om am hraum sphura sphura prasphura prasphura ghora ghoratara Hayagrīva ehi ehi surūpa Kṣīragaura hayānana caṭa caṭa pracaṭa pracaṭa kaha kaha aśvavaktra bhrāma bhrāma bhrāmaya bhrāmaya bhasmikara bhasmikara, etc. and ends thus—*Hayagrīvamahāstram ca vijavandham satot-taram/ Ajutam ca japennityam atyantam śubhadāyakam// Sarvarogaharam śāstram sarvāniṣṭavināśanam/ Sarvasiddhi-karam caiva sarva-śatrunikṛntanam// Mahaiśvaryapra-dam caiva mahāvaśyakaram tathā/ Ityādisugūṇairyuktam Hayagrīvāstrameva ca//*' That this was certainly due to the Buddhist mantrayāna influence on Brāhmanical Hinduism is clearly proved by another manuscript in the same collection, viz., *Hayagrīvamālamantra* which begins thus—'Athāto bhagavantaṁ sarvatejonidhiṁ sarvaduṣṭadūritavi-dhwaṁsinam mahāvidyārājarūpiṇam Hayaśirasamāvartayi-ṣyāmi.'

It is not certain whether there existed in old China the cult of the horse considered as a fecundity symbol; in Japan however, it might have been popular from the early mythological age. But when the Buddhist Hayagrīva was introduced in both the countries by the preachers of the Mahāyāna

cult the developed concept of mantrayānic aspect of this deity took deep roots there. This is clearly evidenced by the *dhāraṇīs*, *mantras* and the *mudrās* especially associated with this cult in those countries. The author's elaborate notices of the sixth chapter of the Chinese text of the *Dhāraṇī-saṃgraha* or *Dhāraṇī-samuccaya* (the greater part of which particularly treats of this figure), and of the Japanese canon about the same, supply us with ample materials for substantiating this point. In course of his historical survey of the migration of Hayagrīva to these lands far away from India, the author has tried to establish the point that 'Hayagrīva won for himself a place in the foreground, and syncretistically or otherwise, incorporated local gods in his own person' especially in Tibet, in Mongolia, and to a certain extent also in Japan; and this fact might also have greatly contributed to the development of the particular trait which we have tried to emphasise in the course of our present review.

The author modestly describes his effort as only of a preliminary and fragmentary character and claims the indulgence of his readers by an apt quotation from the *Dyūtaparvā-dhyāya* of the *Sabhāparva* of the great epic. Though his readers may not see eye to eye with him in every finding of his, yet it must be admitted that the critical handling of the multifarious data brought in by the author in the discussion of various problems and the scholarly restraint with which he has enumerated the many curious ritualistic details connected with his theme have entitled his achievement to rank as an able and meritorious one.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

Agastyaparwa, uitgegeven, gecommentend en vertaald door J. Gonda, overdruk uit de *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, dl. 90 afl. 2-3, 1933, dl. 92 afl. 3, 1935, dl. 94 afl. 1-2, 1936.

Dr. Gonda has already earned a well-deserved reputation as the editor of the Old-Javanese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. The work under review is characterized by the same comprehensiveness that marked his earlier work and every page of it bears the stamp of his wide reading. It presents for the first time a critical edition of the text of the *Agastyaparwa* (based on eight or nine MSS.) containing besides the translation, textual criticism, critical notes, glossary of important words not found (or partly found) in the standard dictionaries and so forth. Dr. Gonda has well handled the Sanskrit data in connection with his attempt to trace the sources of the present work, but as he does not go far enough in this direction, an Indian Sanskritist may profitably resume the investigation at the point left over by Dr. G. The contents, composition, nature and origin of the *Agastyaparwa* have been discussed by the author (*ibid.*, pp. 337-338) with his usual good sense and caution. We notice, however, a slight mistake on p. 385. It is not true to say, as Dr. G. does after Krom, that *Sandhyādwaya* ('the two twilights') does not occur in the curse-formulae of inscriptions after the time of Airlangga. In copper-plate No. IV of Bluluk (OV., 1919, Bijl. C.) dating from the Majapahit period (*cf.* Krom, *Geschiedenis*,² p. 384), the word has been explicitly mentioned in pl. VI, r°. 1. Similarly, in line 7, second face of the inscription of Nglawang, *TBG.*, 53 (1919), pp. 411-412, reference has been made to the *dwisandhye* (obviously the same as *sandhyādwaya*) and this record also dates from the Majapahit period. But these and a few others are essentially minor mistakes and they do not detract from the high value of the work which has entailed considerable research on the part of the author. The author's task has been executed exceedingly well. As the work is closely connected with Sanskrit Purāṇic literature, it is commended to the notice of the Sanskrit scholars of this country, and to the students of Sanskrit Purāṇic literature in particular.

Koninklijke Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam, vijf en Twintigste jaarverslag, 1935.

The Colonial Institute of Amsterdam was established on the 11th August, 1910. Since then it has spread its activities in various directions and has undertaken some useful publications. The present report gives a *résumé* of its activities for the last 25 years.

H. B. SARKAR.

The India that is India: By Elizabeth Sharpe. Published by Luzac & Co., London.

Miss Elizabeth Sharpe lived in India for nearly a quarter of a century and occasionally enlightened Anglo-Indian and American readers by publishing articles in the *Illustrated Weekly* and in the *New York World*. These desultory writings are now published, as she admits in her Foreword, "to prevent Europeans applying their own standards of judgment in solving problems which are essentially matters for the Eastern people alone." In her sanctimonious "Conclusion," she makes her propaganda more crudely palpable when she unctuously rebukes England for "her mistake in this careless implanting of her democratic ideas in the soul of an intensely conservative people." She hopes, however, that the world will ultimately know "the greatness, the liberality and the magnitude of England who having gained all, gave back all!" The concluding phrase may have served as a better title for her veiled political pamphleteering, for she has written only a mediocre "Mother India," lacking the literary verve and aggressive venom of Catherine Mayo. Earning her salary as the Private Secretary to the Thakore Shahib of Limbdi, she has shown little respect for the ladies behind the *Purdāh* and as little knowledge of the Indian girls about whom she has naïvely generalised. We wonder if the writer ever moved out of the enclosure of the Indian States and talked to a few of our College girls or

our women leaders like Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi of Madras or Dr. Mrs. Karve of the Women's University, Poona. Her ignorance of India outside the Indian States is colossal and she insidiously applies to *all Indians* whatever she detects as reprehensible in any isolated individual or community. She omits conveniently, however, to mention a few progressive Indian States, like Baroda (so near to her), Mysore and Travancore. With only 6 or 7% of literacy at the present day, India has produced thinkers and writers, political leaders, social workers and philanthropists—men and women—whom Miss Sharpe might have saluted gracefully before quitting this country. But she preferred to humiliate further a fallen nation with faint praise and lip-sympathy which Indians by now have learnt to evaluate at their true worth. She has pictured the ignoble state of the India that *is* India. But what about the India that *shall be*, the India that is struggling to rise above all that *is*? Miss Sharpe has nothing to report on that topic and so her career of a quarter of a century, no less than her naïve generalisations, would be counted among the many "curiosities" of the realm of *Is* which are fast passing into the limbo of *Was*.

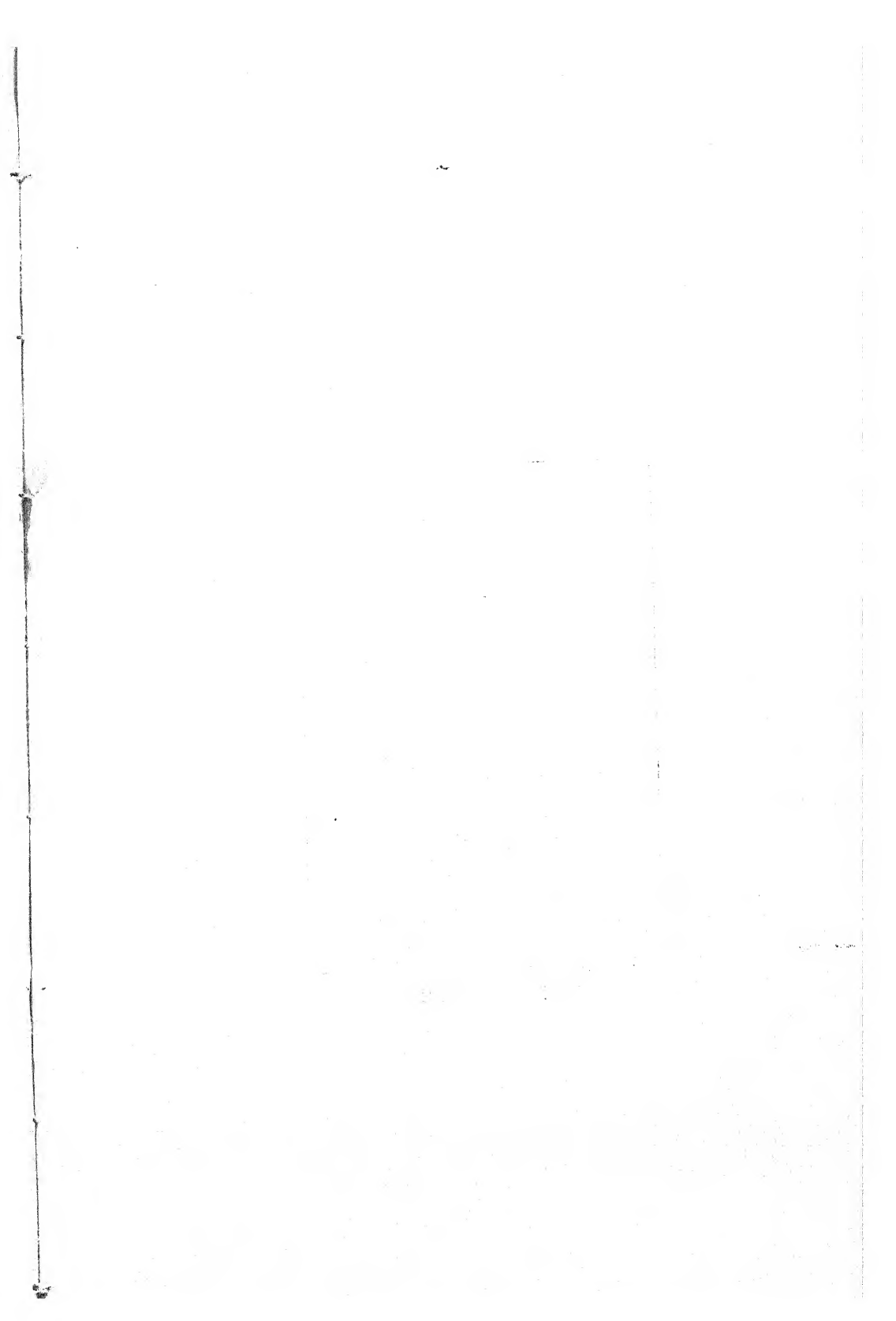
K. N.

Book of Rām: The Bible of India: By Mahātmā Tulsidās. Rendered into English by Hari Prasād Shāstrī. Published by Luzac & Co., London.

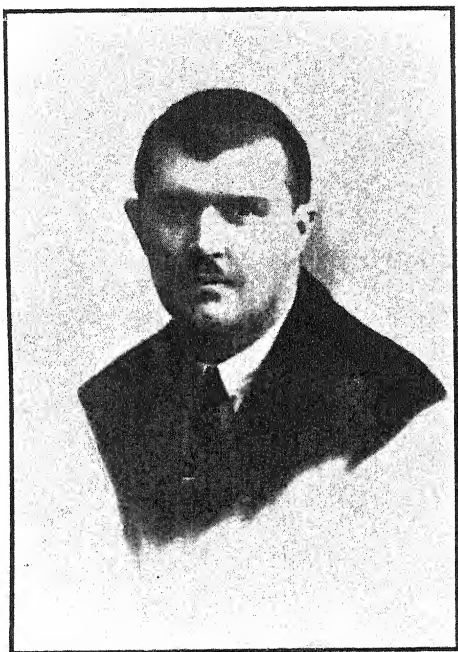
It is an encouraging sign that the classics of mediaeval India are drawing the attention of the general public. English translations of Kabir and Mīrā Bāī have already been published. Now the adaptation of the *Rāma-carita-mānasa*, the grand Hindi Epic of Tulsidās (a contemporary of Akbar and Jehāngīr) is presented by Pandit Hari Prasād Shāstrī. He has tried to perform his task with devotion, but he lacks the literary and historical sense and thus his prose *résumé* appears rather prosaic, specially because the original poem of Tulsidās is surcharged with poetic grace and literary

qualities. The miracle elements have been exaggerated, and what the author has missed is the simple beauty of the original poem which has captivated the heart of millions of souls down to this day. The *Introduction* from the pen of Lotus Dudley, although uncritical, is written with sympathy. Legends and miracles about Tulsidās may attract only a few and alienate many sober readers. The transliterations of Indian names are far from being satisfactory. But the little book will, we hope, rouse sufficient interest to permit another issue which should contain more of the dramatic and poetic passages and also a good and scholarly *Introduction* on the life and works of Tulsidās, who was a real pioneer of Indian Vernacular literature.

K. N.



J.G.I.S., July, 1936.



DR. E. E. OBERMILLER

OBITUARY NOTICE*

Dr. E. E. Obermiller

Dr. E. E. Obermiller (according to the Russian manner of addressing everybody by his Christian name and the name of his father—Evgenii Evgeniewich, i.e., Eugen son of Eugen) was born in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) on the 29th October 1901. In his earliest youth his extraordinary gifts, especially his never-failing memory and great musical capacities, attracted general attention. He received a good education in his family home where great care was bestowed on teaching languages and music. When he entered the Government School he already possessed an almost perfect knowledge of French, German and English. His parents prepared him for a musical career, they had every reason to expect that he would be a celebrated composer and performer. But in the year 1918 when he was already a University student, a constitutional illness appeared and that obliged the parents to alter their plans. This illness 'Seringomuelia' was hereditary in the Obermiller family, it was lameness progressive and incurable. The mother of E. E. died of it at the age of 30. As his father died before her the young student Obermiller was left an invalid orphan to the care of two aunts Mrs. Olga Obermiller and Mrs. Elizabeth Schwede. These two devoted ladies did all they could for the life of their dear nephew under the very difficult conditions from which the country suffered during the great war and the revolutions which followed. It was at this juncture that he began at the University to attend my lectures on Indology and Sanskrit Grammar. He very quickly mastered all the difficulties of Sanskrit Grammar, owing to his quite extraordinary memory he also very successfully went through all other courses of Sanskrit literature which I conducted at that time in the University of Leningrad. When we began the study of Pāṇini on the basis of

* *By courtesy of the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 2, Calcutta.*

Siddhānta-Kaumudī he was profoundly impressed by, and full of admiration for, the greatest Indian linguist, he knew by heart almost every *sūtra* and cherished for some time a scheme of writing the grammar of the Russian language according to the grammatical *sūtra*-method of Pāṇini. After that we studied with him *Alaṃkāra Śāstra* on the basis of *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* and the *Dhvanyāloka* when the young student became thoroughly versed in the Śāstra style. I initiated him into Indian philosophy. This is the usual series of courses in Sanskrit which are followed in the Leningrad University. After having acquired a good basis in Sanskrit it became a quite easy task to acquire the knowledge of Tibetan and Mongolian tongues, since the ideas expressed in the respective literatures are thoroughly Indian, the grammar and vocabulary offered—for a man so gifted as was Obermiller—no difficulty at all. After having taken his University degree of Ph.D., Obermiller was engaged by the Academy of Sciences of Leningrad as an under-secretary to the Redactor of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* where he at once began to work also as an independent scientific producer. His first works were two Indices verborum Tibetan-Sanskrit and Sanskrit-Tibetan of the celebrated work on Logic by Dharmakīrti, the *Nyāya-bindu*. They were executed with the greatest care and thoroughness in every detail; the scientific activity of Obermiller extends only over 8 years, from 1927 to 1935. During these eight years he has produced quite enough to fill up a long and successive life entirely devoted to science. Here is a list of his main works—

1. *Sanskrit and Tibetan Index Verborum to Nyāyabindu, Nyāyabindu Tīkā*, edited; *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, Leningrad, 1927.
2. *Tibetan and Sanskrit Indian Verborum* to the same work, Leningrad, 1928.
3. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation, jointly edited with Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, Leningrad, 1929.
4. *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism*, Part I, in the *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*, Heidelberg, 1931.

5. The Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle to Salvation, a translation of *Uttaratantra* of Bodhisattva Maitreya with the commentary of Asaṅga, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. IX, 1931.
6. *The Doctrine of Prajñā Pāramitā*, as exposed in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* of Maitreya, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XI, 1932-33.
7. *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism*, II, *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*, Heidelberg, 1932.
8. The Account of Buddha's Nirvāṇa and the first Councils according to the *Vinayaśūdraka*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, III.
9. A Study of Twenty Aspects of Śūnyatā, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IX, 1933.
10. *Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, Fasciculus I, Calcutta Oriental Series, 24.
11. Nirvāṇa according to Tibetan Tradition, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1934.
12. On the meaning of the term 'Śūnyatā', *Journal of the Greater India Society*, July, 1934.
13. A review of the *Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāṣya-ṭīkā*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1933.
14. *Bhāvanā-karma* as an historical document. Calcutta, 1935.
15. *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism and the Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra*, *JRAS.*, London, 1935.
16. A review of Goddard's *Principle and Practice of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 1935. *OLZ.*, No. 15.
17. A review of Winternitz's *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, *Orientalische Literatur Zeitung*, Leipzig, 1935.
18. *Sphuṭārtha-Abhidharmaśāstra* edited by Prof. U. Wogihara and Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky and carried through the press by E. E. Obermiller, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXI, 1931.
19. Additional Indices to the Doctrine of Prajñā Pāramitā as exposed in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* of Maitreya, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XI. 1933.

TH. STCHERBATSKY

NOTES

Last year the Greater India Society had to mourn the loss of one of its patrons, the late lamented Raja Reshee Case Law. The ranks of the Society's patrons have been still further thinned by the death, in May 1936, of Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee. The Society owes a deep debt of gratitude to both these departed souls whose generosity helped it to overcome the initial struggles of its existence.

The Greater India Society has profited, as in former years, by the generous donations of the National Council of Education, Bengal, and of Dr. Narendra Nath Law amounting to Rs. 500/- and Rs. 100/- respectively.

The Greater India Society has entrusted Mr. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, M.A., with the task of bringing out an authorised English translation of Dr. N. J. Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*. The Society takes this opportunity to convey its sincere thanks to Dr. Krom not only for authorising the translation, but also for undertaking to add his own notes to make it quite up-to-date.

The Society hopes at once to take up its announced publication, a work of Dr. G. Tucci called '*Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swât Valley*', illustrated with plates.

Extracts from the Annual Report of the Greater India Society (1935-36)

General

With the year 1935-36 the Greater India Society entered upon the ninth year of its existence. The record of the Society's activities during this year, though not marked by any dramatic developments, was, on the whole, one of steady progress.

Management

The constitution of the Managing Committee remained unchanged during the course of the year. The Committee had, however, to mourn the loss of one of its oldest patrons, the late lamented Raja Reshee Case Law. As in the preceding year, the important business of the Committee was disposed of, as the occasion arose, by circulation among its members. During the year the Hony. Secretary continued to act as the editor of the Society's Journal in addition to his usual duties. The composition of the Journal Committee remained the same as at the beginning of the year and it exercised its functions according to the occasion.

Office

As in the preceding year, the office establishment was kept at the minimum strength. There was, however, a slight increase in the cost, as the clerk Babu Gaurikinkar Banerjee, received an increment of Rs. 40/- only as his annual honorarium. The Committee owes a debt of sincere thanks to Mr. P. K. Sen, Chartered Accountant and a Calcutta University lecturer, for his honorary services as the auditor of the Society's accounts. The Committee takes this opportunity to thank Mr. Haridas Banerji of the Government Commercial Institute for the kind offer of his services as honorary auditor, which, however, could not be acted upon as the permission of the Head of the Department did not reach the Secretary in time. During the year it was possible, thanks to the generous help of the Executive Committee of the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University and especially of its worthy President, Mr. Syama-prasad Mookerjee, to transfer the Society's accumulated stock of books, periodicals, reports, etc., to the Asutosh Building of the University, where it was kept in a separate almirah, which also was a gift of the University. The arrangement and preliminary listing of this collection were taken in hand by the Hony. Assistant Secretary.

Members and Subscribers

The number of members on the Society's rolls on the 31st March, 1936, was the same as in the preceding year. The number of subscribers to the Society's Journal showed a slight decrease. Though this loss cannot but be disquieting, the Committee recalls with gratitude the continued patronage extended to it in the form of multiple subscriptions by the Governments of Baroda, Mysore, Travancore and Gwalior as well as the provincial Government of Assam. The Committee takes this opportunity to record its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Dr. E. Obermiller who was its Honorary member and one of the most active contributors to its Journal from the very start.

Lectures

Ten public lectures were delivered during the year under the joint auspices of the Greater India Society and the National Council of Education, Bengal. The range covered by these lectures may be judged from the subjoined list of subjects to which is attached the name of the lecturer in each case:—'Origin of Vedic ritual' (by Dr. B. K. Ghosh), 'Some Problems of Indology' (by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee), 'Visits to Siam, Cambodia, Java, Bali and Kailas' (by Swāmi Sadānanda),—'Firdausi and India' (by Mr. Md. Ishaque), 'Bṛhattara Bhārata' (by Mr. D. P. Ghosh). In addition to the above, a condolence meeting was held with Mr. P. Chaudhuri in the chair and the Consul-General of France attending, to mourn the death of Professor Sylvain Lévi of revered memory. The Committee takes this occasion to thank the authorities of the National Council of Education, Bengal, for meeting, as in former years, the charges attendant on holding the meetings.

Publications

One issue of the Journal (Vol. II, No. 2) appeared during the year, while the following issue, which was brought out as the Sylvain Lévi Memorial Number, was unavoidably

delayed in publication till May, 1936, owing to the necessity of obtaining papers from Ceylon, Indo-China, Holland, France and America. During the year Dr. G. Tucci of the University of Rome offered for publication by the Society his work called—'*Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swât Valley*' and the Society gladly accepted the offer. Unfortunately, the work could not be taken up for publication, as the author failed to send his revised MS. in time.

During the year the Hony. Secretary arranged to give effect to the resolution of the Committee requesting Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra to undertake, on behalf of the Society, an English translation of Dr. Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*. But the arrangement fell through owing to the inability of Dr. Chhabra to take up the work. The translation has since been undertaken at the Committee's instance by Mr. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, Dr. Krom having agreed not only to authorise the work but also to revise the MS., when completed, and bring it up-to-date.

Library

The Committee views with satisfaction the success of the Society in gradually building up a nucleus of up-to-date publications on Greater India obtained mostly as exchanges or review-copies for its Journal. Not to speak of exclusively Indological Magazines, the Society is now on the regular exchange list of the following standard periodicals on Greater India and connected studies:—(i) Djawa, (ii) Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, (iii) Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, (iv) Zapiski, (v) Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde, and (vi) Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Memoirs. The Society also regularly receives publications of the following institutions:—Koninklijke Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut, Instituut für Völkerkunde der Universität Wien, Institut des Etude Orientales d'Académie Sciences, (USSR), Koninklijke Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Among individual scholars who have favoured the Society with gifts of their publications may be mentioned Baron A. von Stäel-Holstein, Dr. G. Tucci,

Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, Dr. M. Winternitz, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. R. O. Winstedt. A notable acquisition of the Society's collection during the year was a complete set of "Djawa" kindly presented by the Java-Instituut at Batavia.

Conclusion

In concluding this brief report of the last year's working, the Committee cannot but again express its very sincere thanks to those friends and well-wishers whose assistance has enabled the Society to win its slight success. Mention has been made in another place of the generous donations of the National Council of Education, Bengal, and Dr. Narendranath Law as also of the valued assistance of the Society's Hony. auditor for the year, Mr. P. K. Sen. But the list is far from being exhaustive. To Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor of the "Modern Review", and to Dr. Narendra Nath Law, Editor of the "Indian Historical Quarterly", the Society is indebted for free advertisements of its publications in their well-known magazines. Dr. Law has laid the Society under an additional obligation by allowing a substantial discount on the printing charges owed by it to the Calcutta Oriental Press. The Committee, however, feels that the Society has not yet emerged out of the struggles of its infancy. It is perhaps idle to expect that the Society's dream of possessing a permanent home filled with a representative collection of literary works, charts, photographs etc., relating to Greater India, will be fulfilled even in the near future. But, as was said in the Annual Report of the last year, the Society is urgently in need of a reserve fund. Money is also badly needed for purchase of some furniture. Above all, recruits are needed not only for shouldering the growing business of the Society, but also for improving the standard of its Journal so as to make India's part in the elucidation of the culture of Greater India worthy of its heritage. The Committee appeals to every lover of Indian culture to rally round its banner and it earnestly trusts that its appeal will not go in vain.

Publications of Cognate Interest in Other Journals

Djāwā: 16de Jaargang No. 1, 2 en 3, 1936.

Colin McPhee—*The Balinese wayang koelit and its music*. The author gives here a detailed description of the famous puppet shadow-plays of Bali. The stories of these plays are mostly drawn from the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata.

Walter Spies—*Bericht über den Zustand von Tanz und Musik in der Nēgara Gianjar*.

The author gives interesting details about the old dances and music of Nēgara Gianjar in Bali. Only this district is said to have preserved in its pristine purity the ancient dances and music of Bali; but the author deplores that even here Western influence has begun to do havoc.

W. F. Stutterheim—*Enkele Oudheiden van Bali*. (1) The author discusses here a pillar on the south coast of Bali bearing an inscription of king Śrī Keśarivarmadeva dated 917 A. D. This inscription is written partly in Devanāgarī script and partly in Old-Javanese script. The most astonishing feature of this inscription is that the portion in Old-Javanese script contains Sanskrit words and the portion in Devanāgarī script contains Old-Javanese words. The inscription records an expedition to Moluccas. (2) The second antiquity discussed by the author is a large relief found near Bēdoeloe and (3) the third monument is a grotto near Tabanan.

R. Goris—*Enkele Mededeelingen Nopens de Oorkonden gesteld in het Oud-Balisch*.

The author here gives a bird's-eye view of the languages and dialects in which the Old-Balinese records

are written. The most ancient records are written in Sanskrit ; but from 882 A. D. to 1072 A. D. both Sanskrit and Old-Balinese are used. Afterwards Old-Javanese is the only language used, presumably as a consequence of the marriage of the Balinese ruler Udayana with a Javanese princess. Javanese remains the language of court and literature for a long time. Even Modern "high" Balinese bears the clear impress of contact with Old-Javanese.

Journal of the Burma Research Society, Vol. XXVI, pt. I

Pe Maung Tin—*Buddhism in Inscriptions of Pagan.*

Ibid. Pt. II.

W. S. Desai—*History of the Burmese Mission to India, October, 1830, to July, 1833.*—Based on Indian Office MS. of Col. Henry Burney, Resident in Burma. Describes the experiences of two Burmese envoys who travelled from Ava, *via* Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad and Cawnpore, to Agra and back again to Ava *via* Patna, Bodh Gayā and Calcutta.

Ceylon Journal of Science (Sec. C, Archaeology, Ethnology etc.),

Vol. II Pt. 3

S. Paranavitana—*Archaeological Summary: Brickwork* [description with drawings of various types of bricks shown by letters engraved on them to belong to the early centuries A. D.]—*Evolution of the Stūpa* [extant specimens show that in Ceylon the earliest stūpas followed the Indian model, consisting of the *harmmikā* and above it an umbrella or series of umbrellas in stone supported by stone-posts; but an important change took place about the 5th century A. D. when there was developed above the *harmmikā* the cylindrical structure called *devatākoṭṭuva* which was evolved from the base of the *chatraṇḍa*, and above

the *devatā-koṭuva* the tapering spire which was nothing but the old *chatrāvalī* with the space between the umbrellas filled with brickwork]—*Stonework* [extant Brāhmī inscriptions on pillars show that stone pillars were in vogue at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era. This supports the statements in the chronicles and disproves Mr. Hocart's view that stone pillars were introduced in Ceylon about the 8th century.]—*Sculpture* [description, with plates, of a new type of moon-stone, of a colossal Pārinirvāṇa Buddha of the 9th or 10th century A.D., of an image of Viṣṇu, which is described as one of the best examples of Hindu stone image found in Ceylon]—*Paintings* [description of three Buddhist cave-paintings ascribed to the first half of the 12th century]—*Hindu Temples* [Mention of a Śaiva shrine ascribed to the Pāṇḍyan epoch].

Journal Asiatique, t. CCXXVII, No. 1, Juillet—September, 1935.

Lin Li-Kouang—*Puṇyodaya (Na-t'i), un propagateur du Tāntrisme en Chine et au Cambodge à l'époque de Hiuan-tsang*: Gives a biography of the Indian Buddhist monk Puṇyodaya who arrived in China from Middle India in 655 A. D. with a collection of Sanskrit MSS. triple the size of that brought back by Hiuan-tsang in 645 A. D. Also analyses Puṇyodaya's two surviving works, viz., the Chinese translation of the *sūtra* of the octuple *maṇḍala* otherwise called *Simhavyūharāja-bodhisattva-paripṛcchā-sūtra* and the *Vimala-jñāna-bodhisattva-paripṛcchā*.

Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient,

t. XXXIV, 1934, Fasc. 2

Coral-Rémusat, Goloubew and Cœdès—*La date du Tā Kèu*. Mme. Coral-Rémusat discusses here the probable dates of the various parts of Tā Kèu:—In architecture it

is posterior to Prè Rup and anterior to Baphûon. The colonettes are certainly posterior to Prè Rup and Bantây Srēi and anterior to the *gopura* of the royal palace. The author concludes that the Tà Kèv could have been constructed only in the latter part of the 10th or the first part of the 11th century. M. Goloubew adds some notes on the details of the plan which go to support the thesis of Mme. Coral-Rémusat and M. Coedès brings to it additional support from epigraphical evidence.

Constantin Régamey—*Bibliographie Analytique des Travaux relatifs aux éléments anaryens dans la civilisation et les langues de l'Inde*: The author modestly says in the preface that he has confined himself here only to pointing out the chief works concerning the relations of the Muṇḍās and Dravidians with the other races and linguistic groups of India. Particular attention has been paid naturally to more recent works. It will be certainly very useful to every student of Indian history, ethnology, religion, mythology etc. A classified index has greatly enhanced the value of the work.

Philippe Stern—*Le Temple-montagne Khmèr. Le Culte du Liṅga et le Devarāja*: The author points out that from the earliest period to the time when the type of the Khmèr temple was definitely fixed, the temple-mountain was connected with the *liṅga*. He discusses further the possible relations between the cult of the *liṅga* and that of *Devarāja*.

Ibid, XXXV, 1935, Fasc. I

H. Parmentier—*Complément à l'Art khmèr primitif*: The author here gives valuable supplements to his renowned work on primitive khmèr art.

Robert Dalet—*Dix-huit mois de Recherches archeologiques au Cambodge*: A detailed report of an archaeological survey of eighteen months in Cambodia.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 1935, 5. Heft.

Josef Strykowski—*Der Amerasiatische Kunststrom.*

The renowned art-historian gives here a short but brilliant survey of his own and his pupils' works proving the existence of an "Amerasiatic" art at a very early period in Siberia which has influenced the Indo-European art on the one hand and the Red-Indian art of America on the other. Traces of this "Amerasiatic" art may be found even in some traits of Indian art in the opinion of the author.

Helen B. Chapin—*A study in Buddhist Iconography.*

The writer describes here an unusual type of image of Cintāmani-cakra Avalokiteśvara from Japan in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.

Ibid., 1935, 6. Heft.

Anton Hoenig—*Der Stammbaum des Borobudur.*

The author again propounds here his old theory that the Caṇḍi-Borobudur was originally a pyramid of nine stories with a comparatively small upper platform which carried not a *stūpa* but a temple. The present plan replaced the older one when in course of construction it became necessary to lessen the pressure of the weighing masses on the hillock. [The highest authorities on the subject, Bosch and Stutterheim, are however, quite sceptical about this theory, though the author has found a supporter in Coomaraswamy.]

B. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Greater India Society acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the following books, periodicals, reports pamphlets etc. during the last six months.

1. *Flamen-Brahman*: By Georges Dumézil, Paris, 1935.
2. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. I, Calcutta, 1936.
3. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIV, Pt. 3; Vol. XV, Pt. I, Madras, 1935.
4. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, Poona, 1936.
5. *The Buddha-Prabhā*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Bombay, 1936.
6. *Śrī Jaina Siddhānta Bhāṣkāra* (*The Jaina Antiquary*), Vol. 3, No. 1, Arrah, 1936.
7. *Aanwinsten van het Koninklijk Koloniaal Instituut*, No. 8, Amsterdam, 1936.
8. *Tijdschrift voor Indisch Taal-, Land-, en Volkerkunde*, deel LXXVI, afl. 3, Batavia, 1936.
9. *Journal of the Malay Branch RAS*, Vol. XIV, Pt. II, Singapore, 1936.
10. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N.F., 11 Jahrg., heft 6, Berlin, 1935.
11. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, t. XXXIV, Fasc. 2, Hanoi, 1935.
12. *Nouvelles Recherches autour du Phnom Bakhèr*: By Victor Goloubew, Hanoi, 1935.
13. *Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society for 1934-35*, Rajshahi, 1936.
14. *The Sūtra of the Lord of Healing* (*Bhaiṣajyaguru Vaiduryaprabha Tathāgata*), Peiping, 1936.
15. *The Decline and Fall of Morals*: By Nicholas Murray Butler, New York, 1936.
16. *Agastyaparwa*: By J. Gonda, Utrecht, 1936.
17. *Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Palembang*: By F. M. Schnitger.

18. *Addenda en Corrigenda* to above.
19. *De Groote Vleermuis van Tjeta (Midden-Java)*: By F. M. Schnitger.
20. Four cuttings of '*Deli lourant*' : By F. M. Schnitger.
21. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 3 & 4, Bangalore City, 1936.
22. *Djawa*, 16de Jaarg., Nos. 1, 2, en 3, Jogjakarta, 1936.
23. *The Study of Javanese Literature in India*: By C. C. Berg, Leyden, 1936.
24. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, (Sec. G), Vol. II, *Contents and Index*, Colombo, 1936.
25. *The Annamalai University Calendar*, 1936-39, Madras, 1963.

REPRINTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

- BHATTACHARYA (VIDHUSEKHARA), *A Sanskrit Treatise by a Tibetan Author*, pp. 8.
- CHHABRA (BAHADUR CHAND), *Identification of Śrī Viṣṇuvarman of the Perak Seal*, pp. 5.
- COOMARASWAMY (A. K.), *The Source of, and a Parallel to, Dionysius on the Beautiful*. pp. 7.
- GANGOLY (O.C.), *On some Hindu Relics in Borneo*. with 4 plates. pp. 7.
- GEIGER (WILHELM), *Contributions from the Mahāvamsa to our knowledge of the Mediaeval Culture of Ceylon*, pp. 23.
- GHOSH (DEVAPRASAD), *Migration of Indian Decorative Motifs*, pp. 10 with 2 plates.
- Do. *Sources of the Art of Śrīvijaya*, pp. 7.
- GHOSH (MANOMOHAN), *On the Source of the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kaṇawin*. pp. 5.
- HACKIN (J.), *Archaeological Explorations on the Neck of Khair Khaneh (near Kabul)*, pp. 13, with 6 plates.
- MAJUMDAR (R. C.), *The Śailendra Empire*, pp. 17.
- Do. *The Struggle between the Śailendras and the Colas*. pp. 21.
- Do. *Decline and Fall of the Śailendra Empire*, pp. 13.
- Do. *The Malay*, pp. 11.

NAG (KALIDAS), *Sylvain Lévi and the Science of Indology*.
pp. 15 with 1 plate.

OBERMILLER, (E), *The term Sūnyatā and its different interpretations*, pp. 13.

Do. *A Sanskrit MS. from Tibet,—Kamala-
śīla's Bhāvanā-krama*, pp. 11.

Do. *A Sanskrit Manual of Tsoṅkhapist worship*,
pp. 3.

PARANAVITANA, (S.), *The Kāliṅga Dynasty of Ceylon*. pp. 8.

PRZYLUSKI (J.), *The Śailendravarṃśa*, pp. 12.

Do. *Indian Colonisation in Sumatra*, pp. 10.

Do. *Greater India and the work of Sylvain Lévi*.
pp. 5.

SARKAR (HIMANSU BHUSAN), *An Old Javanese Inscription from
Penampihan of the Śaka year 1191*, pp. 16.

Do. *Ten Old Javanese Copper-plates*

Do. *Literary and Epigraphic Notes,
from Sidoteḡa of the Śaka year 1245*. pp. 28

Do. *Literary and Epigraphic Notes*.
pp. 5.

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(Translated)

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